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The Voice of Truth:

Life and Works of Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, A 15th/16th Century Ismāᶜīlī Mystic

By

Shafique Virani

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirement
for the degree of Master of Arts

Institute of Islamic Studies
McGill University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

May 1995

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Dedication

To my beloved parents and grandparents

And say: "Oh Lord! Bestow thy Grace upon them,
even as they cherished and cared for me as a child."
(Qur'ān 17:22)

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ABSTRACT

Author: Shafique Virani

Title of Thesis: The Voice of Truth: Life and Works of Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, A 15th/16th Century Ismāʿīlī Mystic

Department: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University

Degree: Master of Arts

Ismāʿīlism, one of the most colourful and dynamic sects of Islām, boasts a rich and fascinating history. This thesis studies the life and works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, a gifted exponent of the Ismāʿīlī Sat Pañth movement in Indo-Pākistān during the 15th/16th centuries. Sat Pañth, the Path of Truth, is the highly mystical form of Ismāʿīlism which resulted from conversion efforts in the Subcontinent during the eleventh and subsequent centuries. The legacy of the order which was fostered is to be found in its corpus of sacred religious literature known as Gināns, an appellation that suggests supreme, gnostic knowledge. The Sat Pañthī Ismāʿīlīs consider the Gināns to be the embodiment, *par excellence*, of the Qur'ān's esoteric dimension. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh is the last of the Sat Pañth authors for whom a large body of Gināns has been preserved.

This work gives a historical background of the Ismāʿīlī movement in Indo-Pākistān, examines the career of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh from the earliest available primary sources and disproves suggestions by previous scholars that he forsook his allegience to the Ismāʿīlī Imām and became the founder of his own rival sect. In addition, it provides for the first time a scholarly translation of a significant portion of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Veṇī Moṭī or Tale of Truth (Larger), an important Sat Pañthī mystical text.

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RÉSUMÉ

Auteur:	Shafique Virani
Titre de Thèse:	La Voix de la Vérité: La Vie et les Oeuvres de Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Un Mystique Ismāᶜīlī des15ᵉ et16ᵉ Siècles
Département:	Institut des Études Islamiques, Université McGill
Niveau:	Maîtrise ès Arts

L'Ismāᶜīlisme, une des sectes les plus fascinantes et les plus dynamiques de l'Islām, possède une histoire riche et captivante. Cette thèse étudie la vie et les œuvres de Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, un talentueux émissaire du mouvement Sat Pañth Ismāᶜīlī en Indo-Pākistān aux quinzième et seizième siècles. Le Sat Pañth, ou Chemin de la Vérité, est une forme hautement mystique de l'Ismāᶜīlisme qui découla des efforts de conversion à l'œuvre dans le Sous-continent à partir du onzième siècle. L'héritage de cet ordre se retrouve dans la littérature sacrée sous la forme de Gināns, un nom qui implique la connaissance gnostique suprême. Les Ismāᶜīlīs Sat Pañthī croient, en effet, que les Gināns sont l'incarnation par excellence de la dimension ésoterique du Qur'ān. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh est le dernier des auteurs Sat Pañth dont un grand recueil de Gināns a été préservé.

Cet ouvrage explique l'évolution du mouvement Ismāᶜīlī en Indo-Pākistān et examine la carrière de Nūr Muḥammad Shāh en s'appuyant sur les principales sources disponibles. Elle réfute les propositions antérieures des chercheurs qui prétendaient que l'auteur s'était détaché du Imām Ismāᶜīlī et fondait une secte rivale. En outre, elle fournit pour la première fois une traduction érudite d'une partie significative du Sat Veṇī Moṭī ou Le Conte de la Vérité (Version Longue), un texte mystique Sat Pañthī essentiel.

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During my studies at McGill I was fortunate to have been instructed by some of the most outstanding scholars in their respective fields. Dr. J.C. McLelland gave me the tools for exploration of religion by initiating me into that field of study for which only a German word suffices, *religionswissenschaft*. From Dr. Charles Adams, one of the most senior and respected Islāmicists in the world and of whom I was in awe, I learned that wisdom of Islām breeds humility. Dr. Sajida Alvi introduced me to the beauties of Urdū language and literature, and both she and Dr. Sheila McDonough to the fascinating tapestry of Islām in Indo-Pākistān. Qur'ānic exegesis was taught to me by Dr. Karel A. Steenbrink, an eminent Dutch scholar. From Dr. Abdulaziz Sachedina, the "benevolent dictator," I learned the exacting science of textual analysis. Dr. Mohammed Estelami, the world's foremost editor of Rūmī's **Mathnawī**, instructed me in Persian and Dr. Issa Boullata, a quick-witted, kindly and dear man, in ᶜArabic. Dr. Paul Noble and Dr. Rex Brynen educated me in the intricacies of government and politics in the ᶜArab world and Dr. Donald Little, who was a beacon of light to me whenever I was lost and in search of direction, guided me in my understanding of Islāmic history. I am grateful for the generous scholarships which were awarded to me by McGill and which financed my studies at the university. While at the Institute of Islāmic Studies, I was also given the honour of representing the department on the Graduate Faculty Council, an experience for which I am very thankful.

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with me his library of Ismāʿīlī literature. Salim and Farida Juma were equally generous in lending me their collection of Imām Shāhī works. Dr. Farhad Daftary and Dr. Gulshan Khakee provided valuable suggestions and information for the thesis. While in Vancouver I was extremely fortunate to meet with the highly esteemed and knowledgeable al-Wāʿiẓ Abuali A. Aziz who shared his profound wisdom, experience and learning with me and allowed me to examine the precious collection of Ismāʿīlī literature which he possesses. Al-Wāʿiẓ Amirali Amlani, an erudite scholar of Ginānic literature and *ustād* of Gujarātī language spent many hours with me to discuss and enlighten me on the principles of translation and explanation of Ismāʿīlī sacred literature. Al-Wāʿiẓ Nizar Chunara, whose father wrote the classic **Nūram Mobīn**, readily opened up the doors of his private library to me, lent me many valuable works and went through great pains to help me search for others. A very special mention must be made of al-Wāʿiẓ Abdulrasool Mawji of Calgary who went above and beyond the call of duty in assisting me. Not only did he allow me to view his private collection of Ismāʿīlī literature, but permitted me to photocopy the two manuscripts in his collection which form the basis of much of this study. The invigorating hours spent with al-Wāʿiẓ Mawji discussing the text and translations of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's works will never be forgotten.

There are many others, too many to mention, to whom I owe a great debt for helping me to complete this thesis. To them and to those whom I have alluded to above, I wish to express my infinite gratitude.

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Conventions Used in this Thesis

Any work that draws upon sources written in languages and scripts as diverse as ᶜArabic, Fārsī, Urdū, Sañskṛt, Gujarātī, Hiñdī, Sindhī and Khojkī faces the perplexing question of what system of transliteration to adopt. No one solution can hope to satisfy everybody, and it is difficult to decide whether to include a bewildering array of diacritics thereby sacrificing readability, or to oversimply matters and thus sacrifice accuracy. The system adopted in this thesis attempts to make the best of a complex situation by steering a middle course. A complete table of transliteration is given on page viii. It will be noted that the system adopted does not solve all difficulties. For example, the Gujarātī letter ' ટ ' and the ᶜArabic letter 'ط' are both transcribed as 'ṭ' even though their phonetic values are quite different. However, the context in which the letter appears should make it clear which sound is intended. Another unavoidable idiosyncracy that results from transcribing several languages is that words and phrases which are precisely the same vary in pronunciation from one language to the next and are thus transcribed differently in English. For example, what would be 'tawārīkh-i pīr,' 'Ismāᶜīlī' and 'Ṣadru'd-Dīn' when transcribed from ᶜArabic script (ie. ᶜArabic, Fārsī, Urdū or Sindhī) may become 'tavārīkh-e pīr,' 'Ismāīlī' and 'Sadaradīn' or 'Sadharadhīn' when transcribed from Gujarātī, Hiñdī or Khojkī script.

The reader should note that transliteration of ᶜArabic and Persian words within the text of an English or French passage will always reflect their familiar ᶜArabic and Persian forms, regardless of the script of the text in which the word was written. Thus, for example, the ᶜArabic word meaning "knowledge" would be transcribed as *ᶜilm* rather than as *elam* if it appears in an English or French passage. All quotations from other sources maintain the transliteration systems of the original authors. In order to preserve the appearance of the thesis, commonly occurring foreign words such as pīr, Sat Pañth and Ginān are not italicized. The titles of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Gināns are given in Gujarātī rather than in Sindhī, as there is a greater Gujarātī influence on them, hence Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel rather than Sat Varaṇī Vaḍī jī Vel. All references to shorter Gināns without specific titles use the Ginān's incipit as a title equivalent and, unless othewise noted, quote from the six Khojkī Ginān rescensions (100 Ginān Bhāg 1-6) cited in the bibliography.

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The sources for this thesis also contain a variety of calendar systems. Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are given in the Christian era (CE). Other systems used include the Vikramāditya Samvat era (VS) which commemorates King Vikramāditya of Ujain's victory over the Sakas and the Hijrah era (AH) which marks the year of Muḥammad's flight from Makkah to Madīnah.

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Roman	°Arabic Script	Gujarātī	Khojkī	Roman	°Arabic Script	Gujarātī	Khojkī
a	ـَ	અ	𑈀	k	ك	ક	𑈫
ā	اَ	આ	𑈀𑈬	kh	خ / كھ	ખ	𑈬
e	ے	એ	𑈏	ksh		ક્ષ	𑈭
i	ـِ	ઇ	𑈁	l	ل	લ	𑈮
ī	ی	ઈ		ḷ	(ڵ)	ળ	𑈯
o		ઓ	𑈑	m	م	મ	𑈰
u	ـُ	ઉ	𑈂	n	ن	ન	𑈲
ū	ـُو	ઊ		ṇ		ણ	𑈳
aw	ـَو	ઔ		ñ	ں		
ay	ـَی	ઐ		p	پ	પ	𑈪
b	ب	બ	𑈦	q	ق		
bh	ٻ	ભ	𑈧 𑈦	r	ر	ર	𑈵
°	ع			ṛ		ઋ	
ch	چ	ચ	𑈜	s	س	સ	𑈷
chh	ڇ	છ	𑈝	sh	ش	શ ષ	𑈸
d	د	દ	𑈤	ṣ	ص		
dh	ڌ / ڏھ	ધ	𑈥 𑈦	t	ت	ત	𑈺
ḍ	ڈ / ض	ડ	𑈛	th	ٿ / تھ	થ	𑈻
ḍh	ڍھ	ઢ	𑈞	ṭ	ٹ / ط	ટ	𑈖
f	ف	ફ	𑈨	ṭh	ٺ	ઠ	𑈗
g	گ	ગ	𑈡	v		વ	𑈹
gh	غ / گھ	ઘ	𑈢	w	و		
gn		જ્ઞ	𑈙	y	ي	ય	𑈀𑈽
h	ه / ة	હ	𑈣	z	ز	ઝ	𑈼
ḥ	ح			ẓ	ظ		
j	ج	જ	𑈘	:			space

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Chapter 1
Introduction

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The Sat Pañth is the only True Path
And true are those who tread upon it
Only when the head itself is lost on this journey
Will (the path) come within grasp[1]

The above verse was composed by Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, a prominent dāʿī[2] of the Ismāʿīlī Sat Pañth movement in Indo-Pākistān during the 15th/16th centuries. In the verse, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh warns his audience that ultimately only those willing to sacrifice everything in the cause of Truth will gain admission into the Path of Truth, the Sat Pañth.

Initiation into this highly mystical form of Nizārī Ismāʿīlism stemmed from conversion efforts by various pīrs[3] and dāʿīs sent to the Subcontinent during the eleventh and subsequent centuries. The legacy of the order that was fostered is primarily enshrined in a corpus of esoteric poetry and prose collectively referred to as "Gināns," an appellation which means gnostic knowledge or wisdom.[4] Moved by the profound impact of these compositions on the sectarians, the Russian orientalist Wladmir Ivanow commented that the defining characteristic of the Sat Pañth community was "the strange fascination, the majestic pathos, and beauty of its sacred religious poetry, the *gnans*."[5] In 1936, noting that scholars remained largely unaware of this religious phenomenon, he wrote, "it seems a great pity that so far the *gnans* remain unknown to the students of Indian antiquity."[6] Disappointingly, despite increased interest and scholarly activity in virtually all aspects of Shīʿism and Ismāʿīlism, half a century after Ivanow wrote these words Professor Donald P. Little of McGill University was able to comment, "Only the surface of the vast *ginan* literature has been scratched."[7]

Considering the steady progress made in Ismāʿīlī studies over the last several decades, the

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progress in this important facet of the Ismāʿīlī movement has been remarkably slow. It is only in the last few years that Sat Pañth has begun to shed its image as the "least developed [field] in Ismaili studies."[8]

Survey of Primary Sources

There are three main Ismāʿīlī sources that give us some indication of the nature of the early period of daʿwah[9] activity in the Subcontinent.[10] Two of these - the **Iftitāḥu'd-Daʿwah wa Ibtidā'u'd-Dawlah**[11] and the **Kitābu'l-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt**[12] - were written by the Fāṭimid jurist Qāḍī Abū Ḥanīfah an-Nuʿmān (d. 974) and refer to the daʿwah's beginnings in Sindh. The third source, the **ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār wa Funūnu'l-Āthār**,[13] was written by the Ṭayyibī Ismāʿīlī dāʿī Idrīs ʿImādu'd-Dīn (d. 1468) of Yaman.

Occasional reference to Ismāʿīlism in India is also found in **Aḥsanu't-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifati'l-Aqālīm** by al-Maqdisī;[14] **Taḥqīq Mā li'l-Hind** by al-Bīrūnī (d. 1048);[15] the anonymous work, **Ḥudūdu'l-ʿĀlam**;[16] **Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī** by Minhāju's-Sirāj Jūzjānī, completed in 1260;[17] the **Tārīkh-i Mubārak Shāhī** by Yaḥyā b. Aḥmad Sirhindī, written between 1428 and 1436;[18] the **Akhbāru'l-Akhyār fī Asrāri'l-Abrār** by ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, completed in 1588 and revised in 1591; the **Tārīkh-i Firishtah** by Muḥammad Qāsim Firishtah, completed in 1609;[19] as well as in the **Mirāt-i Aḥmadī**[20] and the **Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī** both completed in 1760 by ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān.[21]

Of course, the main source for the study of Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlism in the Subcontinent is the literature produced by the daʿwah itself, the Gināns. Composed in both prose and poetry, varying in length from just three verses to several thousand verses, and attributed to the various Ismāʿīlī pīrs and dāʿīs who preached in the Subcontinent, the Gināns are the single most important source for studying the history and doctrines of Sat Pañth. Azim Nanji originally estimated the total number of Gināns at 800 based on a list prepared by Alibhai Nanji of Ḥaydarābād.[22] Recent studies have increased the number to about 1000.[23] Having had the opportunity to examine well over one hundred Ginān manuscripts as well as the literature of various Sat Pañth splinter groups during the course of my research, I would say that even this figure is too low. The manuscripts are replete with previously unpublished works.[24] In addition, any endeavour to examine the Gināns in the possession of groups that

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have broken off from the parent movement will certainly uncover a treasure of Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī literature, possibly doubling the total number of Gināns now available.[25] But even this seems to represent but a fraction of the original corpus, much of which has been lost forever.

Most of the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī manuscripts now available are recorded in Khwājah Siñdhī, commonly known as Khojkī. This remarkable script represents what is perhaps one of the most ancient forms of written Siñdhī in existence.[26] As this script became almost the exclusive property of the Sat Pañth community in the Subcontinent, Nanji suggests that Khojkī may have been singled out for preserving the Gināns so that:

> ...the doctrines of the community could be kept secret and available only within the circle of adherents. In this way, the script acted as a factor of unity bringing together the varied [Ismāʿīlī] communities on the Subcontinent but also acted as a protective cover against outsiders ever gaining knowledge of their beliefs. In view of the constant persecution that faced the community, this precautionary step was necessary.[27]

Asani notes that "Khojkī may have served the same purpose as the secret languages, such as the so-called *balabailān* language, utilized by Muslim mystics to hide their more esoteric thoughts from the common people."[28]

A description of the most important Khojkī manuscripts used in this study is to be found in the Appendix.

Three major Ginān works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh have been preserved: Sat Veṇī (or Vāṇī) Moṭī, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, and Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel. He is also credited with four shorter Gināns.[29] The Sat Veṇī Moṭī or "Tale of Truth (Larger)" is considered to be of "considerable poetic worth" by Misra, the well-known scholar of Gujarātī history and society,[30] and the composition has been described as an "exquisite repository of mystical vision."[31] It is a stunning example of the coalescence of Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī thought in the medieval period and is a powerful testimony of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's esoteric theories.[32] There is a comment in the second canto to the effect that nine hundred years had passed since the time of the prophet and the last canto mentions the name of the reigning Imām as Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh (d. 1480).[33]

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The latter two works contain hagiographies and historical information about the Ismāʿīlī Imāms and their Ḥujjahs or Pīrs, cosmological and eschatological theories and admonitions for the believers. From an allusion in canto 305, it seems that the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** or "Account of Truth (Larger)" was composed in 1545 VS/1487 CE. The latest date in the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** or "Supplement to the Larger Account of Truth" is mentioned in canto 157 as 1550 VS/1493 CE and the last Imām mentioned is Abū Dharr ʿAlī (d. after 1498).[34]

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh is credited with a fourth major work, the **Tārīkh-i Muḥammadiyyah** (or **Maḥmūdiyyah**). Unfortunately, this Persian historical work is no longer extant. Portions seem to have been utilized by Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Aḥmadābād in his **Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb** (composed soon after 1822).[35]

Survey of Secondary Sources

In recent times there has been a tremendous upsurge of works of a "traditional" nature by both Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī authors that contain histories of the movement and hagiographies of its saints. These include **Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb** completed soon after 1822 by Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Aḥmadābād, in Persian;[36] the **Shajarah**, ostensibly by Fayḍ Muḥammad b. Khwājah Amīr Muḥammad[37] and the **Tārīkh-i Gulzār-i Shams** dictated by Sayyid Muḥammad ʿIsan Shāh to Muluk Shāh,[38] both in Urdū; **Khojā Vṛttāñt (1892)**,[39] **Khojā Kom no Itihās** (1905),[40] **Khojā Kom nī Tavārīkh** (1912),[41] **Tavārīkhe Pīr** (1914),[42] **Pīrāṇā Satpañth nī Pol (1926)**,[43] **Nūram Mobīn** (1926),[44] **Ismāīlī Momin Kom no Itihās** (1936)[45] and **Pīr Padhāryā Āpaṇe Dvār** (1986),[46] all in Gujarātī. The significance of these works should not be underestimated as they serve as a chronicle of hitherto unrecorded oral tradition about the origins and history of the community.

The neglect of Sat Pañth, one of the most important phases of the Ismāʿīlī movement, by modern scholarship has been bitterly criticized by Tazim Kassam who comments wryly about "the place (or more accurately, lack of place) of Satpanth Ismāʿīlism in Ismāʿīlī studies."[47] While rather harsh, the criticism does not entirely miss the mark. The research of the most important scholars in this field is outlined below.

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Wladmir Ivanow

Ivanow was the first orientalist to bring Sat Pañth to the attention of scholarship in any major way. His initial article on the subject, entitled "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat,"[48] provides a brief historical outline of the parent Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī community and of the offshoot Imām Shāhī group based primarily on two manuscript works, the Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb completed soon after 1822 by Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā of Aḥmadābād and the Shajarah, ostensibly by Fayḍ Muḥammad b. Khwājah Amīr Muḥammad. He deduces that at some point, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed to be the Imām and thus initiated a split in the community leading to the creation of the offshoot Imām Shāhī sect.[49] Ivanow's next article was published in 1948 and entitled "Satpanth."[50] The author supplements the historical portion of his earlier work with testimony from the Gināns (translated for him by V.N. Hooda) and speaks about doctrine in greater detail. The bibliographies of Gināns in both articles are flawed, are missing several important compositions and sometimes attribute works to the wrong author.

That Ivanow was quite uncomfortable with esoteric phenomena such as Sat Pañth has been commented upon by Nanji.[51] This lack is clearly apparent in his examination of Sat Pañth doctrine. While there are many errors in his work, we should not be too judgemental. All too often, the first scholars in an unexplored field must suffer the criticisms of later researchers who view them with the unsympathetic eyes of those who have at their disposal much more information than their predecessors. Ivanow himself issues the disclaimer, "I unhesitatingly admit the possibility of many of these ideas being ultimately proved erroneous, based as they are on my imperfect knowledge of the subject."[52]

Gulshan Khakee

In 1972, Gulshan Khakee completed her dissertation on the tenth chapter of what Annemarie Schimmel calls an "Ismāʿīlī classic,"[53] the Ginān Das Avatār by Sayyid Imām Shāh.[54] Khakee begins her thesis with a historical outline of Ismāʿīlī connections with Indo-Pākistān. Included in this outline is a discussion about the split that occurred in the movement when the Imām Shāhīs broke off from the parent Sat Pañth daʿwah. Drawing on evidence from Imām Shāh's Das Avatār, Khakee concludes that he remained faithful to the Nizārī Imāms in Persia and that it may have been his son, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, who claimed the Imāmah

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for himself.[55] The main portion of the dissertation includes a translation of the tenth chapter of the Ginān as well as a detailed grammatical analysis with particular reference to ancient forms and usages of language.

Azim Nanji

The published version of Azim Nanji's PhD thesis, entitled **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent,**[56] which incorporates many, though not all, aspects of the same author's master's thesis, "The Spread of the Satpanth Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in India,"[57] is the most complete work available which gives a general historical and thematic introduction to the movement. The work is well researched and documented, drawing extensively on primary sources where possible. Nanji, in line with Ivanow and Khakee, asserts that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh was the progenitor of the Imām Shāhī schism.[58]

As the first complete study of its kind, the book understandably leaves certain gaps in its assessment of the movement, not only in terms of Sat Pañth's historical development, but also in its structure of religious thought. Nevertheless, it remains the best introduction to Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlism thus far and is an indispensible tool for further research in this area.

Hasina Jamani

Jamani's 1985 master's thesis, "Brahm Prakāsh: A Translation and Analysis," examines this didactic, mystically-inclined Ginān of Pīr Shams.[59] The author attempts to show that the **Brahm Prakāsh**, in describing the mystical path, finds its basis in an indigenous Indian religious phenomenon, the Tantric tradition. The thesis goes on to examine how the **Brahm Prakāsh** reconstructs and restructures the Tantric element by super-imposing a Shīʿī form of Islam upon the Tantric framework. The translation is fair but the analysis lacks substance. While there is frequent reference to the authors and works of the Tantric tradition, practically no reference is made to the life or works of the author of the **Brahm Prakāsh**, thus effectively taking this composition out of the context of other compositions by Pīr Shams. Jamani is also fallible on several points of historical detail.

Ali Asani

In recent times, Ali Asani has written several works on Sat Pañth. His A.B. honors thesis,

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"The Ismāʿīlī Ginān Literature: Its Structure and Love Symbolism," is a worthy attempt at tracing the primary themes and symbols invoked in the devotional Gināns.[60] His PhD dissertation on the mystical Ginān Bujh Nirañjan probes into the question of authorship and provides a very useful methodology for preparing scholarly editions of Gināns using metre as the basic criterion for analyzing various versions.[61] With his catalogue of the Harvard collection of Indic Ismāʿīlī works, he has furnished one of the most useful tools for scholars in this area. The catalogue is extremely well done and Asani has developed an admirable system to address the difficulties involved in cataloguing the ambiguous Khojkī script.[62]

Diane Steigerwald

While Steigerwald's master's thesis entitled "L'Imāmologie dans la Doctrine Ismaélienne Nizarienne" is not on Sat Pañth or the Gināns *per se*, the third chapter, "La Daʿwa en Inde et la Philosophie Gnānique," provides an innovative and original analysis of Sat Pañth doctrine and equips us with a much needed stepping stone from which further analyses may take place. The chapter is specifically concerned with demonstrating how the Sat Pañth literature builds upon already existing themes in the theosophy of classical Ismāʿīlism with particular reference to the concept of the Imām. Unfortunately, because of the language barrier, the author could not access the original Ginān documents and had to rely on (often inaccurate) translations of the texts. This, of course, resulted in several errors creeping into her work - something future scholars will be called upon to correct.

Françoise Mallison

Mallison has recently published a number of articles on Sat Pañth which are most valuable for their efforts at placing the Gināns within the context of medieval Indian mystical literature.[63] Mallison's knowledge of the *bhaktī* tradition is a welcome addition to the study of Gināns. For history, however, Mallison has been limited to consulting secondary sources.

Tazim Kassam

Kassam's PhD dissertation on the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī dāʿī, Pīr Shams, is not only an important contribution to the study of Sat Pañth but contains an invaluable reassessment of Ismāʿīlī studies.[64] Decrying the lack of attention given to Sat Pañth by scholars, Kassam argues forcefully and convincingly about the need to revamp our understanding of the Ismāʿīlī

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movement and its history.

With regards to the main portion of her dissertation, the translation of Pīr Shams' 106 Gināns is a valuable contribution to studies in this area. Kassam's reliance solely on the recent Gujarātī "Anthology" of Gināns, however, is sometimes problematic. For example, in explaining her methodology of translation, she speaks at length about a line in one of the Ginānic verses in the Anthology which reads "*mãñpe varase amarata nūra ke.*" In an attempt to derive the origin of the word "*mãñpe*" she rejects "*mãñ pe*" (which would give a translation of "Divine Light, in the form of nectar, rains upon mother") and suggests that the phrase should be understood as the modern Gujarātī "*māthāpara*" (which leads her to translate the line as "Divine Light, which is in the form of nectar, rains upon your head").[65] A simple reference to another Ginānic publication would have dispensed with the need for these linguistic gymnastics as we discover that "*mãñpe*" is simply a typographical error for "*mãñhe*" which would give a rendering to the effect "Within (the soul) there are showers of nectar-like Divine Light."[66] The greatest drawback of this work is the fact that except for the translation of "A Short Life-History of our 23rd Pīr - Ḥaḍrat Pīr Shams al-Dīn Sabzawārī" in Appendix A, almost no reference has been made to Eastern sources (whether in Persian, Urdū or Gujarātī) documenting the life of this personality, either to refute them or to draw information from them. The names of these works do not even appear in the bibliography. Conspicuous by its absence is the **Tārīkh-i Gulzār-i Shams** which is primarily dedicated to this personality. Despite these deficiencies, however, this thesis has given a new direction to studies in Ismāʿīlism.

Christopher Shackle and Zawahir Moir

Shackle and Moir's work, **Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: An Introduction to the Ginans,**[67] contains translations of forty Gināns, either in their entirety or selected verses thereof. The translations are mature and faithful renderings of the originals and are greatly enhanced by the accompanying notes. The section on "Script and Language" is particularly useful for its grammatical and technical analysis. However, the historical section suffers somewhat from oversimplifications and innaccuracies.[68] The section on "Textual Transmission" is particularly speculative. Not only does it disagree with the observations of the majority of scholars regarding the language of the Gināns,[69] but bases its assessment

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of the antiquity of these compositions almost solely on the basis of linguistic forms, a rather tenuous method to use when dealing with a largely oral tradition. Nevertheless, this work has set a very high standard for translations and will remain a useful tool for further research.

The Importance of Sat Pañth

Kassam has already written at some length about the importance of Sat Pañth. Examining some of the most significant scholastic works which give an overall history of Ismāʿīlism, she concludes:

> What should have by now become conspicuous by its absence is the fact that despite their clear awareness of this tradition, not one of these authors specifies Satpanth Ismāʿīlism as a distinct phase or period in Ismāʿīlī history in his schemes....All the authors ensconce Satpanth Ismāʿīlism under the "post-Alamūt" category, thus rendering it invisible....This is truly hard to grasp given the fact that not only is the Satpanth period one of the longest continuous phases in Ismāʿīlī history, but that it also constitutes the bedrock of contemporary Ismāʿīlism.[70]

The investigation of Sat Pañth is indispensible for the study of the doctrines and spread of Ismāʿīlism, particularly in its post-*Qiyāmah* form. The preaching of this highly esoteric doctrine differed substantially from the methods used by other branches of Islām in the Subcontinent. Eaton, in his "Conversion to Islam in India," speaks of the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī daʿwah as an example of "rationally planned, organized conversion efforts,"[71] as opposed to the rather sporadic endeavours of other groups. This being the case, the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlīs avoided the practice, so common among other Muslims, of simply adding Allah to the Hindū pantheon of gods. Probably because of their sophisticated network of dāʿīs, the Ismāʿīlīs were able to develop a highly schematized cosmological universe in the Indian environment which mirrored its Ismāʿīlī counterparts in Persia, Syria and elsewhere. Thus, the Indian concept of the *yuga* was easily associated with the Ismāʿīlī theories of cyclical time, the Vaishnavite *avatār* was an exact equivalent of the Ismāʿīlī Imām and so on. Schimmel comments that the "highly interesting, esoteric religious literature [of the Ismāʿīlīs]...reflects their comprehensive system of philosophical thought as much as their poetic tendencies, especially in their Indian environment."[72] In the Ismāʿīlī case, this was not just a matter of importing a foreign religious system into its existing set of beliefs, but a very selective process of incorporation, the encouragement of which can be found in Ismāʿīlī works as early as the **Rasā'il Ikhwānu'ṣ-Ṣafā** which states:

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> ...It befits our brothers that they should not show hostility to any kind of knowledge or reject any book. Nor should they be fanatical in any doctrine, for our opinion and our doctrine embrace all doctrines, and resume all knowledge.[73]

After the fall of Alamūt, the Sat Pañth daʿwah became the most powerful branch of the Ismāʿīlī movement, its effects reverberating throughout the Ismāʿīlī world. Writing in *circa* 1553, Khwājah Muḥammad Riḍā b. Sulṭān Ḥusayn Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī remarked that his co-religionists in India greatly outnumbered the Persian Ismāʿīlīs.[74] Even today, manuscripts produced by the Sat Pañth branch of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah constitute approximately one quarter of the total number of Ismāʿīlī manuscripts at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies in London. This is in spite of the fact that the vast majority of Sat Pañth manuscripts were disposed of in the early 1900's and that, as yet, the Institute has made no concerted effort to collect the remaining volumes.[75]

The influence of the daʿwah in the region of its operation must also have been felt. Recently, the present author was surprised and somewhat startled to discover a collection of Hindū *bhajans* (devotional songs) which profusely eulogize the "blessed path of Nizār" and "Alāmod" (ie. Alamūt), apparently unaware of the sectarian meanings of these phrases.[76] S.F.D. Ansari, commenting on "the legacy of love and respect for the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad left by the Ismailis," goes on to assert that "[t]he emotional esteem which Ismaili missionaries generated for the institution of the saintly individual may go some way towards explaining "the subsequent intensity of devotion for sufi saints in Sind."[77]

Only when this tradition is studied in greater depth will the richness of its thought and the profound influence it exercised and continues to exercise in the Ismāʿīlī world as well as in its region of activity be fully appreciated. It is hoped that this dissertation on the life and works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the last of the major Ginān composers, will add to the progress being made in this direction.

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Chapter 2
Historical Background

The eternal station will be obtained by the believer
Who enters the religion of the Imām

That religion excels all others in Truth
Such is what the Guide truly relates

The Guide has compiled this true knowledge (ʿilm)
Listen, for the Guide proclaims words of Truth

Brother, make the Truth your protector
So that your actions may be true

Such is the mystery related by the Guide
For this is certainly the Path of Truth

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The words of the Guide are true
Know this, Oh People of Truth
Adore the Divine Lord unceasingly
So that you may be transformed into a jewel

Pre-Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī Presence in the Subcontinent

Ismāʿīlī connections with Indo-Pākistān would appear to stem from the earliest phases of the nascent movement's history. According to Juwaynī, the seventh Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs, Muḥammad b. Ismāʿīl, fled to Sindh with his sons.[2] Al-Ḥallāj, the enigmatic mystic who travelled and preached extensively in India in about 896-897, was suspected of being an Ismāʿīlī dāʿī.[3] It is interesting to note that reference to his famous exultation, *Anā'l-Ḥaqq*, "I am the Truth," occurs in at least two Gināns.[4] Immediately upon establishing an Ismāʿīlī base in Yaman in 883, Abū'l-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab "Manṣūru'l-Yaman" dispatched his nephew, al-Haytham, to spread Ismāʿīlism in Sindh.[5]

That the Fāṭimids wished to propagate their doctrines in India is confirmed by the fact that

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the earliest known work that identifies the twelve *jazā'ir* (singular, *jazīrah*; literally, an island) targeted for the spread of Ismāʿīlism mentions both Hind and Sindh among the twelve.[6] In *circa* 957, Qāḍī an-Nuʿmān, the chief jurist of the Fāṭimid Khalīfah al-Muʿizz wrote that the daʿwah was doing well in Sindh.[7] He further writes in his al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt (completed *circa* 962) about an anonymous dāʿī in Sindh who operated between 941-958 and who managed to convert a large group of *majūs* (literally Zoroastrians, but probably a reference to some sort of Hindūs) as well as a Muslim prince in the region. However, the dāʿī's unconventional beliefs provoked controversy at the Fāṭimid headquarters.[8] In 965 this dāʿī died in a riding accident and was replaced by Jalam b. Shaybān[9] who conquered Multān in 977 in the name of the Fāṭimids.[10] Visiting Sindh in 985, al-Maqdisī noted that the city was Shīʿī and wrote, "In Multān the khutba is in the name of the Fāṭimid and all decisions are taken according to his commands. Their envoys and presents go regularly to Egypt. He (the ruler of Sind) is a powerful and just ruler."[11]

This state of affairs did not last long. The attack on India by the Ghaznawid leader Amīr Sebuktigin in 976 had already left the Ismāʿīlīs of Multān vulnerable on their western flank. Attacks continued and in 1005 Sebuktigin's successor, the famous Maḥmūd of Ghaznah, "invaded Multān with the avowed purpose of defending Sunnī orthodoxy and purging the Ismāʿīlīs from the region for their alleged apostacy."[12] Five years later he returned once again and crushed the Ismāʿīlīs of Multān and surrounding areas. Hamdani argues that after this disastrous setback, Ismāʿīlīs took refuge in Manṣūrah where the Ḥabbārid ʿArab ruler, perhaps named Khafīf, may have accepted the Fāṭimid daʿwah.[13] In any case, in 1025 Manṣūrah also fell to the Ghaznawids. However, the persistence of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah is remarkable to note. Only two years after the massacre of Ismāʿīlīs at Multān, the Fāṭimid Khalīfah al-Ḥākim sent an envoy to Maḥmūd of Ghaznah in an attempt to gain his allegiance.[14]

Stern asserts that Maḥmūd's purges eliminated Ismāʿīlism from the area and therefore that "the later phases of the history of Ismāʿīlism in Sind and in India stand in no direct connection with this first successful attempt to establish territorial rule in Sind."[15] That this was not the case, however, is clear. We see continued evidence of Ismāʿīlī activity in the period immediately following these setbacks. The Ghaznawids, apprehensive about the

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resurgence of Ismāʿīlism in Sindh and other eastern territories under their dominion, executed Maḥmūd's *wazīr*, Ḥasanak, in 1032 because he had accepted a cloak from the Fāṭimid Khalīfah az-Ẓāhir and was suspected of adhering to the Ismāʿīlī doctrine.[16] In 1033, the famous Druze leader, al-Muqtanaʿ, attempted to win Shaykh Sūmar Rājibal, the chief Fāṭimid dāʿī in the area, to the Druze cause. In 1051, less than three decades after Maḥmūd's purges, this same Sūmar Rājibal appears to have repossessed the entire region of lower Sindh from the Ghaznawids.[17] Letters dating from 1083 and 1088 indicate that the Fāṭimid Ismāʿīlī daʿwah continued to operate efficiently in India as the Fāṭimid Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir (d. 1094) designated new dāʿīs to the area to replace those who had died.[18]

Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlism

After the death of the Imām al-Mustanṣir in 1094, a bitter feud for the Fāṭimid throne erupted. Due to the intrigues of the powerful *wazīr*, al-Afḍal, the designated Imām, Nizār, was dispossessed by al-Mustaʿlī. The schism crippled the Ismāʿīlī movement and stunned the daʿwah. This, combined with the vicious massacres of Ismāʿīlīs by the Ghaznawids, forced the dāʿīs in India to reevaluate their radically changed position. Kassam argues in her thesis that the blow to the political stability of the Fāṭimid Khilāfah, combined with pernicious conditions in the Subcontinent, forced the Indian Ismāʿīlīs to seek refuge under the cloak of *taqiyyah* (pious dissimulation) and initiated the development of Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlism.[19]

While the Ismāʿīlī allegiance of the Sūmrahs is difficult to dispute, it is noteworthy that contemporary historians did not accuse them of such an affiliation. Kassam suggests that in view of the prevailing situation of antipathy, "the Sumrahs did not make a point of declaring their Ismāʿīlī connections."[20] Considering that the Sūmrahs were originally Sindhī tribes adhering to the doctrines of Hindūism, their new allegiance was easily hidden from others and thus the seeds of a new expression of Ismāʿīlism were sown.

The first major figure traditionally credited with spreading Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlism in India is a certain Sat Gur Nūr who preached mainly in Gujarāt probably sometime at the end of the eleventh century or the beginning of the twelfth century. While very little historical information can be ascertained concerning his life, he is said to have converted the famous

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Gujarātī ruler Siddhrāj Jaysiñgh. Nanji, Misra and Ivanow have all discounted this alleged conversion as fictitious since "All available accounts and inscriptions relating to the rule of Siddharāja show that he died a devoted Hindu."[21] While this may be the case, Hollister argues that though Siddhrāj apparently died a Hindū, he did ask to be buried rather than cremated and "both his successors and his great Jain teacher, Hemacharya, at a time when there are no recorded Musalman invasions, are said to have been converted to Islam."[22] Muḥammad Akhtar Dihlawī, author of the **Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā-i Hind**, writes that Sayyidu's-Sādāt Sayyid Muḥammad (another name of Sat Gur Nūr) converted Siddhrāj to Islām in the fortieth year of the king's reign.[23]

Meanwhile, the Nizārī daʿwah was asserting itself strongly in Multān and other areas. Jūzjānī notes in his **Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī** that the Ghūrid Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn (d. *circa* 1160) welcomed some envoys from Alamūt and treated them "with great reverence; and in every place in Ghūr they sought, secretly, to make proselytes."[24] This area of proselytization presumably included Sindh, which had been annexed to the Ghūrid territories. However, Muḥammad Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn, Alāu'd-Dīn's successor, reacted violently to the Ismāʿīlī presence. Jūzjānī records:

> In every place wherein the odour of their impure usages was perceived, throughout the territory of Ghūr, slaughter of all heretics was commanded....the area of the country of Ghūr, which was a mine of religion and orthodoxy, was purified from the infernal impurity of the Karāmitah depravity by the sword.[25]

The movement must have survived, however, because in 1175 Sulṭān Muʿizzu'd-Dīn Ghūrī once again "delivered Multān from the hands of the Karmatians."[26]

Kassam asserts that "The Sūmrah chiefs in Sind, one of whom ruled Multan, were doubtless in close but secret contact with the Nizārī daʿwah."[27] It was perhaps under these circumstances of extreme duress that the Sūmrahs requested, and the Imām felt it necessary that his own ḥujjah, Pīr Shams,[28] be sent to the area. Basing herself on the account found in the **Shajarah** (family tree) discovered by W. Ivanow and on the narrative in the **Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī**, Kassam dates the arrival of this prominent personality in the province of Multān at 1202.[29] Jūzjānī informs us that in 1206 the anti-Ismāʿīlī ruler, Alāu'd-Dīn Ghūrī, was assassinated, ostensibly by the Nizārīs at Alamūt.[30]

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As the Mongol hordes encroached upon Muslim territories around 1220, the need for a secure haven was probably felt at the Nizārī headquarters at Alamūt. The activities of the daʿwah in the region and the fact that "India was the only country where refugees could find both security and livelihood"[31] may have prompted the Ismāʿīlīs to make an unsuccessful attempt on the life of the Sulṭān Illtutmish (d. 1236).[32] Shortly after the death of this sulṭān they attempted to take advantage of the tumult surrounding the accession of his daughter, Sulṭānah Raḍiyyah, in Delhī. Under the leadership of Nūr Turk, a group of Ismāʿīlīs "from all parts of Hindustan" attacked the Jāmīʿ Masjid in the capital.[33]

While the revolt was crushed, it is remarkable that the insurgent force had assembled in Delhī from areas as diverse as Gujarāt, Sindh, the banks of the Ganges and of Yamunā and from the capital itself, indicating the extent of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah.[34] It has been proposed that in view of the "Mongol threat to Alamūt, the incident in Delhī betrays that the Nizārīs may have had designs to seize the seat of Muslim power in India."[35] In any case, Ismāʿīlī aspirations of gaining power in India must have ended with the collapse of the Nizārī state at Alamūt and the slaughter of Persian Ismāʿīlīs by the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century.

The question remains as to what part, if any, the Sat Pañth dāʿī, Pīr Shams, played in all of this. Kassam asserts that the battle imagery in the Gināns composed by him indicates the political turmoil in which the Indian branch of the daʿwah was working.[36] While there is some justification for this, it should be noted that battle imagery exists in the Gināns of practically every major dāʿī of the Sat Pañth tradition. Kassam's cautious suggestion that the Queen Radīyā of Pīr Shams' Gināns may possibly have been the same as Queen Raḍiyyah of the Delhī revolt should be dismissed as impossible.[37] To begin with, the name "Raḍiyyah" would likely be transcribed into an Indian script as either "Razīyā" or, more likely, "Rajīyā." Secondly, Shams' tale of Queen Radīyā and her consort, King Mansuddh, is clearly allegorical and describes a mystical journey of Queen Radīyā (Sanskṛt, < *hṛdaya*, "the heart") and King Mansuddh (Sanskṛt, < *manas* + < *shuddhi*, "awareness of mind") from their capital, Prem Pāṭaṇ ("The City of Love").[38] More convincing, however, is the fact that Pīr Shams often refers to himself as the *ghāzī*, or religious warrior. Moreover, Shams is said to have had a confrontation with Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyyā (d. 1266), the great Suhrawardī mystic of

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Multān.[39] If we remember the pivotal role played by this figure in helping the enemy of the Ismā°īlīs, Sulṭān Illtutmish, gain control over Multān in 1210-1235, as well as the close relationship between the Suhrawardī order in general and the Sulṭāns of Delhī, we may discover the political implications of this rivalry.[40]

In any case, Shams is credited with the conversion of numerous disciples and several of his works, both in Indian dialects as well as in Persian, have been preserved.[41] The memory of his tribulations became immortalized among the ṣūfīs of the area to such an extent that the foremost mystical poet of Panjāb, Bullhe Shāh (d. 1757), equated the suffering of Shams to that of al-Ḥallāj, the ṣūfī martyr *par excellence*.[42] Kassam, again on the basis of the Shajarah discovered by W. Ivanow and the Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, suggests that Pīr Shams died in 1277.[43] His mausoleum in Multān reflects the architectural features of the equally ancient tombs of Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyyā and Shadnā Shahīd.[44]

That the *da'wah* activities in India during this period were fairly successful is attested to by the fact that al-Kāshānī (d. *circa* 1337) in his Zubdatu't-Tawārīkh records a letter of Imām °Alā Muḥammad b. Ḥasan °Alā Dhikrihi's-Salām (d. 1210) to °Imād-i Wazzān saying, "From the furthest corners of India the messenger[s] of [those] who have accepted our summons are present in our court."[45] One Indian Ismā°īlī was also found among the five *fidā'īs* secretly posted in the service of Sharafu'l-Mulk, the *wazīr* of Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh in Dāmghān. The five were burned alive upon discovery.[46] Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī, the great Ismā°īlī philosopher of Alamūt, dedicated the twenty-seventh *taṣawwur* of his Rawḍatu't-Taslīm (completed in 1243) to the refutation of idol worship. Jalal Badakhchani remarks that this chapter is directed toward the Ṣābi'ah of Ḥarrān and the idol-worshippers of the Indian Subcontinent.[47] We also have records of members of the Qādirī order of ṣūfīs first entering Sindh in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "in order to stem the 'rampant' tide of Ismailism. Shaikh Ahmad Baghdadi and his brother Shaikh Muhammad are reputed to have come to Sindh with forty disciples for that purpose."[48]

The Mongol ravages and the destruction of Alamūt ended this period of rapid growth in the Subcontinent. That the da°wah continued, however, is testified to in the Gināns, though apparently in a much reduced form. The two *ḥujjahs* following Pīr Shams, Pīr Nāṣiru'd-Dīn

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and Pīr Shihābu'd-Dīn (or Ṣāhibu'd-Dīn, as he is sometimes called) apparently preached from the late thirteenth century to the mid-fourteenth century when the Sunnī Sammas drove the Sūmrahs out of Sindh.[49] Very little is recorded in the Gināns about the daʿwah during this period except that the religious dues continued to be submitted to the Imām and that propagation activities were conducted in secret.[50] This is probably a reflection of the difficult circumstances under which the daʿwah was operating.

Immediately after Pīr Shihābu'd-Dīn, however, the daʿwah experienced a revival under the able leadership of Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, perhaps the most prolific of the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī authors.[51] His period of activity is generally dated as during the fourteenth century.[52] As Nanji has mentioned, the Gināns are clear that he was in the service of Imām Islām Shāh (or Salām Shāh).[53] It is doubtful that this refers to the thirty-third Imām ʿAbdu's-Salām Shāh who died *circa* 1494[54] as has been suggested by some earlier authors.[55] In all likeliness it refers to the thirtieth Imām, Islām Shāh b. Qāsim Shāh, who died *circa* 1425[56] and whose period thus overlaps with that ascribed to Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn. The Gināns record that Ṣadru'd-Dīn was successful in establishing *Jamāʿat Khānahs* or Ismāʿīlī religious centres in three areas: Sindh, Panjāb and Kashmīr.[57] Annemarie Schimmel suggests that since the Ithnā ʿAsharīs did not play a major role in the area, the persecutions of the *rawāfiḍ* by Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq (r. 1351-1388) were probably directed against the Ismāʿīlīs.[58] The time of the persecutions certainly follows this upsurge in Ismāʿīlī activity and, in fact, precedes the displacement of the Ismāʿīlī centre from Uchchh to Gujarāt.

The next major figure in the daʿwah is Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn, the son and successor of Ṣadru'd-Dīn. He is thought to have lived between 1329 and 1470-71.[59] He is apparently the first of the Nizārī ḥujjahs to have been born in India and his birthplace, Uchchh, was also his main centre of activity.[60] ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī records that he travelled widely and was extremely successful in converting a large number of Hindūs to Islām.[61] It is interesting to note that not only was he associated with the Suhrawardī order of ṣūfīs that was prevalent in Uchchh but was also considered to be a leader of the order.[62] It is possible that association with the organized ṣūfī orders may have been adopted as a form of *taqiyyah* to escape the ravages of Firūz Shāh of Dehlī.

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Chapter 3
Turmoil in the Da^{c}wah

The True Guide proclaims: Harken to this Ginān
Know the Path of Truth to be absolutely pure

Recognize and contemplate upon the Manifest Imām
Lest you forget again and again, Oh my brothers

For the sages tread upon the path of the Sat Varaṇ ī
Which Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh has related to you

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The Path of Truth is difficult
Oh Sages! Be patient
Lest you forget, Oh innocent ones
For this is what your Guide has instructed[1]

With the death of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn, the tempestuous conflict amongst his offspring rocked the Ismā^{c}īlī movement in India. According to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the needs of the *jamā^{c}ats* were neglected as the community was convulsed by the quarrels of Kabīru'd-Dīn's eighteen sons in Uchchh.[2] Nanji writes, "It is not clear if this disagreement was over the succession to the position of Pīr."[3] However, the Gināns and the Manāzil seem to indicate that the dispute was about the division of Kabīru'd-Dīn's fortune.[4] It appears that Imām Shāh, being absent at the time of his father's death, was deprived of his rightful share of the inheritance[5] and that the religious dues destined for Persia were absconded by some of the other offspring.[6] The tumultuous situation alluded to in the Gināns and the Manāzil is further corroborated by the Akhbāru'l-Akhyār, written in 1588, which indicates that there was great turmoil amongst the descendants of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn.[7] As a result of this dissension, Kabīru'd-Dīn's younger brother, Tāju'd-Dīn, left to see the Imām in Kahak[8] where he was invested with the authority (*sirband*, literally "turban") of *pīrātan* and appointed the ḥujjah of the Imām.[9] It is significant that this event is narrated by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh since the modern-day Imām Shāhīs deny that Tāju'd-Dīn was appointed as Pīr rather than Imām Shāh.[10] In any case, the Ginānic testimony of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and the preserved

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genealogies are unanimous that Tāju'd-Dīn succeeded his brother to this high office.[11]

Tāju'd-Dīn faced formidable obstacles in heading the daʿwah. After returning to Uchchh, he was continuously harassed by his nephews, several of whom he may have excommunicated (*bāher dhareāñ*).[12] It appears that some of the children of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn converted to Sunnism and took a leading role in the Sunnī community.[13] Nūr Muḥammad Shāh also speaks of an enigmatic dāʿī who seems to have misled many of Tāju'd-Dīn's disciples and gained control over several regions (*mulk*).[14] Could this anonymous dāʿī who caused "immense destruction to the Path" and who is said to have had the support of one of the Indian sovereigns (*hiñdake rāe*)[15] have been an emissary of the Muḥammad Shāhī line of Imāms? It is possible that the ruler of Bījāpūr in this period who proclaimed Shīʿism the official religion of his realm may have been influenced by the Muḥammad Shāhī doctrine.[16] That the competition between the rival lines of Imāms in this period was intense is apparent from at least one extant epistle of the thirty-third Qāsim Shāhī Imām ʿAbdu's-Salām Shāh dated 1490 and addressed to the Muḥammad-Shāhī Nizārīs of Badakhshān and Afghānistān, inviting them to transfer their allegiance.[17] It is well known that the Muḥammad Shāhīs managed to secure a significant following in India and it would not be surprising if some of that following was attracted from amongst the disciples of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn who adhered to the Qāsim Shāhī line.

After five years of preaching in Uchchh and Lāhor, Tāju'd-Dīn travelled to Persia to deliver the religious dues collected in this period, a sum amounting to forty thousand *mohors*[18] and ten *gaj* (approximately seven metres) of cloth.[19] According to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the Imām bestowed a gift of some of the cloth on Tāju'd-Dīn which the Pīr fashioned into a garment. This caused a sensation when he returned to Uchchh and his followers accused him of misappropriating the dues destined for Persia.[20] The shock of these accusations procured his early demise. Such was the uproar amongst his former disciples that they would not allow him to be buried in Uchchh and it was only twenty years after his death that a proper mausoleum was constructed by his repentant followers.[21]

There has been no consensus amongst scholars about the leanings of the next major figure in the daʿwah, Imām Shāh b. Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn. While the majority of researchers (thus

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Wladmir Ivanow,[22] Gulshan Khakee and Azim Nanji) feel that he remained faithful to the Nizārī Imāms in Persia and that it was his son who claimed the Imāmah for himself and retroactively for his father, Satish Misra suggests that Imām Shāh himself claimed the position of Imām and thus became the progenitor of the Nizārī offshoot sect centred in Pīrāṇā. The discussion which follows will clearly show that neither of these two personalities was responsible for the separation of the Imām Shāhīs from the main body of Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs.

According to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's narrative, after an intense but fruitless effort to attract the followers who had been converted to Sunnism by his brothers, the discouraged Imām Shāh gave up his activities and remained in seclusion.[23] Meanwhile, the Imām in Persia, apprised of the situation after Tāju'd-Dīn's death and being aware of the apostasy of many of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn's children, summoned Imām Shāh.[24] The name of the Imām is mentioned by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh as "Bhudar Alī," ie. Abū Dharr ʿAlī b. Gharīb Mīrzā who succeeded his father in 1498. As this Imām was also known as Nūru'd-Dīn,[25] the reference ties in very well with Imām Shāh's testimony in the Jannat Pūrī about his visit to the Imām "Nūr Shāh."[26]

Significantly, in this Ginān, both in the version preserved by the Ismāʿīlīs and even in that of the Imām Shāhīs themselves (indeed, the two recensions are almost identical), Imām Shāh clearly portrays himself as a simple servant of the Imām and certainly not as the Imām himself. Imām Shāh's own narrative clearly establishes that he never claimed the Imāmah for himself. Addressing the Imām's chamberlain, Mukhī Ghulām Muḥammad, he says, "Listen to my words, Oh Mukhī. I am but a poor beggar. I will only become purified if you allow me to witness the beatific vision (*dīdār*) of the Imām."[27] When describing his audience with the Imām he relates, "With utmost humility I stood before him and beseeched the Lord, 'Be merciful, my True Beloved, I am but your slave.'"[28] Imām Shāh is then granted permission by the Imām to journey to the seventh heaven, a tale reminiscent of the Prophet's *miʿrāj*.

It is not only the Jannat Pūrī that points to Imām Shāh's continued allegiance to the Imāms in Persia. Examining manuscripts of Imām Shāh's Das Avatār originating from both Imām

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Shāhī and Ismāʿīlī sources, Gulshan Khakee concludes, "...as the evidence in the 'Dasamo Avatara' shows, Imam Shah did not break away from the Imams in Iran..."[29] In addition, there are ample quotations in other Gināns composed by Imām Shāh which support this position. The following gleanings from his works clearly indicate that he did not claim the position of Imām for himself:

> Oh brothers! The Lord Nūr Shāh [ie. Imām Abū Dharr ʿAlī] reigns in Kahak. I was permitted to look into his eyes.
> Oh brothers! Pīr Imām Shāh relates and makes it known that the joy in his heart could not be contained.[30]
>
> Oh brothers! The one who received the boon of [being the Guide] of countless millions was Ḥasan Shāh.
> Oh brothers! Know that his progeny is the Guide, Imām Shāh.
> Glorify Nūr Shāh as the Imām.
> Oh brothers! Nūr Shāh is the manifestation of the Imām
> And resides in the land of Kahak.[31]
>
> Oh souls! When the Lord shall rise, the Lord Mahdī Mustanṣir, then each and every house will become resplendent with moonlight.[32]
>
> Oh brothers! Pīr Imāmu'd-Dīn arrived at the threshold (*dargāh*) [of the Lord].
> He met the handsome and splendid Lord.
> Oh brothers! The Pīr submitted the religious dues and entreated [the Lord] for his blessings.
> The Pīr pleaded with tears in his eyes: "Oh Lord, look after the congregation."[33]

Such references in the Gināns of Imām Shāh to the submission of religious dues to the Imāms in Persia are noteworthy. Even Imām Shāhī sources such as the Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb indicate that Imām Shāh used to collect the religious dues which were then forwarded to the Ismāʿīlī Imāms in Persia, a circumstance which would quite preclude any notion of his having claimed the Imāmah for himself.[34]

It is interesting to note that according to testimony in the Gināns, upon his return from Īrān, Imām Shāh did not move back to Sindh but rather to Aḥmadābād in Gujarāt where he abandoned his previous policy of quietude and once again actively began preaching.[35] This circumstantial evidence seems to suggest an attempt by the Imām to bolster the Ismāʿīlī movement in India in the face of the tumult following the deaths of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn and Tāju'd-Dīn by re-enlisting Imām Shāh's participation in the ranks of the daʿwah. It may also

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indicate a transfer of the daʿwah headquarters in India from Sindh to Gujarāt. Apparently, Imām Shāh enjoyed remarkable success in Gujarāt to the extent of securing the support, if not the conversion, of Gujarāt's most illustrious ruler, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begaḍā. Even non-Ismāʿīlī sources speak of the Sulṭān's warm relations with the Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs.[36]

The life of Imām Shāh's son, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the last of the major Ginān composers, is shrouded in controversy. The **Manāzil** places his birth in 874 AH/1469 CE, differing by a few years from the testimony of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel which gives Ashād 20, 1520 VS/July 10, 1463 CE.[37] According to one account, his mother's name was Jīvan Bībī, the daughter of Sulṭān Ḥasan Afghānī.[38] According to another, his mother married Imām Shāh in 1454 and was the daughter of the ṣūfī saint, Shāh-i ʿĀlam.[39] In 878 AH/1473 CE, Imām Shāh is supposed to have converted a certain Rājput by the name of Pūñjāsiñh Ṭhākor in Bhāvanagar whose daughter was later married to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and by whom was born his son Sayyid Saʿīdu'd-Dīn (more commonly known as Sayyid Khān).[40] His second wife was Buzurg Khātūn, daughter of the famous Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begaḍā (d. 1511), a patron of his father.[41] Two sons were born of this marriage, Sayyid Muṣṭafā and Sayyid Shihābu'd-Dīn (a.k.a. Jalālu'd-Dīn).[42] Ivanow places Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's death in 940 AH/1533-34 CE based on the date in the **Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb** and S.H. Dargāhvālā gives Rajab 21, 940 AH/February 5, 1534 CE, probably from the same source.[43]

There is a consensus among all the scholars in this field that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh forsook his allegiance to the Nizārī Imāms in Persia and, being a *sayyid*, claimed that he himself was the Imām. The main arguments which have been used to support this position are summarized and discussed hereunder.

The Quarrel with Mukhī Khetā

An account is preserved in the **Manāzil** of a quarrel which occurred between Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and a certain Khetā, the *mukhī* (or head) of a local Ismāʿīlī congregation. Mukhī Khetā, who was in charge of a group of 18 000 Ismāʿīlīs, used to collect the religious dues to be forwarded to the head of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah in India who would subsequently send a portion (*chīzī*) of the dues to the Imām in Persia. Ivanow narrates:

> All that is recorded in connection with the split is that he [Nūr Muḥammad Shāh]

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> ordered the pious Khêtâ to hand him in future all funds collected by him, instead of sending them to Sindh. This obviously amounted to the recognition of Nar Muhammad as an Imam.[44]

However, the recognition of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh as Imām is not at all "obvious" from this narrative. It must be remembered that the daʿwah in Sindh was in crisis during this period. The apostasy of high ranking members of the daʿwah from amongst the offspring of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn in Sindh may have made it unwise to forward the community funds to that region. This line of argument would seem to be corroborated by Khayr Khwāh who furnishes us with valuable testimony in his Taṣnīfāt indicating that when he visited the Imām's residence at the age of nineteen, the funds were not reaching the centre properly.[45] The transfer of Imām Shāh's headquarters from Uchchh to Aḥmadābād after his meeting with the Imām in Persia also indicates a reorientation of the Ismāʿīlī movement in India to cope with the situation. It seems likely that the headquarters of the daʿwah was being moved from Sindh to Gujarāt at this time, thus eliminating the need to forward all religious dues to Uchchh. In any case, a simple redirection of funds can in no way make it "obvious" that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed the Imāmah, especially when the account does not mention whether these funds were appropriated by himself or whether he continued the practice of forwarding a portion to Persia. As the former does not seem to have been explicitly mentioned by the author of the **Manāzil**, the latter appears to be much more likely, especially when the **Manāzil** categorically states that the practice of sending religious dues to Persia was continued during the time of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh.[46]

Alleged Allusions to the Split in the Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī

Azim Nanji connects references to a schism in Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh's **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī** to the supposed defection of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. He further writes:

> The introduction of the *Pandiyāt* into India perhaps represents the immediate reaction from Iran [to the secession of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh] and probably indicates a change in the structure of the daʿwa whereby appointments of pīrs were suspended and a book was dispatched to take their place.[47]

There are several problems with this line of argument. The references in the **Pandiyāt** to which Nanji alludes, while referring to the sects which followed Mūsā Kāzim and Mustaʿlī (amongst others), never specifically refer to followers of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh nor, in fact,

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to any contemporary schismatic.[48] If a specific opposition group is intended it would, in all likeliness, be the followers of the Mumin Shāhī line of Imāms, and not the followers of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh.[49] As mentioned earlier, Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh's son, ᶜAbdu's-Salām, is credited with an epistle dated 1490 urging the Mumin Shāhī Nizārīs to attach themselves to the Qāsim Shāhī Imāms.[50] Furthermore, as all the extant genealogies indicate, the **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī** did not in any way suspend the appointment of Pīrs. The genealogies indicate the existence of a continuous line of Ḥujjahs right up to the present day and even the **Pandiyāt** itself is replete with passages urging the followers to maintain allegiance to the Pīr.

Alleged Claims of Descent from Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad

Ivanow, Nanji and Kassam all maintain that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, in an effort to claim the Imāmah for himself, asserted the identity of his ancestor, Pīr Shams, with the Ismāᶜīlī Imām, Shamsu'd-Dīn b. Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh. The basic argument is elaborated by Nanji as follows:

> A ginān, *Sateniji Vel* [ie. Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel] introduces a somewhat startling element into the Tradition by equating Pīr Shams with Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad, making him abdicate the Imāma, entrust it to Qāsim Shāh and then come to India to work for the daᶜwa. This particular ginān is attributed to Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Imām Shāh, and the figure primarily responsible for shifting the allegiance of a group of Nizārīs towards himself. Since he claimed to be an Imām, it was necessary according to standard Ismāᶜīlī belief that he should want to establish a direct lineage from the Imāms in order to authenticate his claims. By making Pīr Shams and Imām Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad one and the same person, and by claiming direct descent from Pīr Shams, he could thus substantiate his own right to the Imāma.[51]

Nanji identifies canto 72 of the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** as the section which contains this claim. However, a close inspection of this canto reveals nothing even remotely resembling this description. The names of Imām Qāsim Shāh and Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad never even occur in the section.[52] A thorough investigation of the entire manuscript version of the **Vel** unearths nothing even vaguely familiar to the said claim. Even *assuming* that such a passage could be located, it is perplexing that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh would make such an assertion since a profession of descent from Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh would be of questionable significance to his pretentions to the Imāmah. He was already recognized as a descendant of Imām Jaᶜfaru'ṣ-Ṣādiq even in non-Ismāᶜīlī circles [53]

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and thus had no need "to establish a direct lineage from the Imāms in order to authenticate his claims." It is significant that Imām Shāh, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's father, states quite explicitly in his **Moman Chetāmaṇī** that his ancestor, Pīr Shams, was the son of Pīr Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn and not of Imām Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh,[54] a fact maintained by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in his **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**.[55] This fact alone quite precludes any suggestions of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's alleged attempt to claim descent from Shamsu'd-Dīn b. Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh. The details of his ancestry were too well known to forge a genealogy linking him to the Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, not to mention that such a genealogy tracing his ancestry to an Imām would be of questionable value as he was already widely recognized as a descendant of the Imām Jaʿfaru'ṣ-Ṣādiq.

Alleged Claims to the Imāmah in the Gināns of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh

Potentially the strongest argument supporting suggestions that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh apostatized from his ancestral religion is a passing reference in canto 301 of the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** which has been interpreted as suggesting that Imām Shāh, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's father, was an Imām. The text of the passage and the translation which seems to have been derived by the majority of scholars is given hereunder:

Vāñchāte:gurjīkī:sāch:he-e:
Eto:sahī:hae:gurji:emāmare:
Ap:emām:soe:rup:hae:
Ane:emām:unkā:nāmare:[56]

The words of the Guide are true
For the Guide is certainly the Imām
He is the form of the Imām
And his name is Imām

When viewed in isolation, this vague passage may be misconstrued as suggesting that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed that his father was the Imām. But even if the verse is taken without reference to its context, the claims that have been made for it are not justified. Citing the above verse, Nanji writes, "In his gināns, Nar Muḥammad Shāh makes the claim that Imām Shāh was an Imām and as Imām Shāh's successor, he inherited this role."[57] This statement extends the meaning too far. While the above translation may be used to support the first part of Nanji's assertion, ie. that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed that his father was

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somehow the "form" of the Imām, the author nowhere suggests that he was Imām Shāh's successor to this position.

In any case, the context of this passage makes both of these interpretations impossible. In the cantos immediately preceding this verse, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh discusses the life of his father. After relating the incident of how Imām Shāh was cheated out of his inheritance by his brothers, he speaks of his father's journey to Persia to visit the Imām (sic!). Imām Shāh begs the Imām to bestow upon him the boon of seeing paradise, a request which the Imām grants. After returning, Imām Shāh travels to Gujarāt to preach to the *Kaṇbī Jamā'at* on behalf of the da'wah. It is in this context that the above verse appears.

As Nūr Muḥammad Shāh narrates about how his father had just visited the Imām in Persia and entreated him for the boon of seeing paradise, it would require a huge leap of the imagination to claim within a few verses that his father himself was the Imām. It is quite obvious, then, that the verse has been misconstrued. The problem, however, can be solved with an understanding of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's use of the word "Imām." Not only does our author use this word as a designation for the leader of the Ismā'īlī community, but as the personal name of his father, Imāmu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm b. Ḥasan. This fact is borne out in the above quoted verse (*ane:emām:unkā:nāmare:*, and Imām is his name) as well as in other verses where the context makes it unmistakeable that the word "Imām" is a reference to the name (and not the position) of his father. We may take canto 126 of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel (canto 114 of the printed version) as an example:

gurjī:emāmshā:nar:pāse:gaeā:
jākar:narjike:pāse:gaeā:[58]

venatī:kareā:tab:anat:apār:
tab:narjī:thaeā:var:dātār:

boleā:narjī:tame:māñgo:āj:
jokuch:māñgaso:to:sārīe:kāj:

tab:gur:emāmshāhe:bātjokai:
mujakuñ:sarag:dekhāḍo:sahī:

boleā:narjī:tamesāñbhaḍo:emām:
keṇe:nikīe:jugame:ese:kalām:

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Gūr Imām Shāh approached the *Nar*[59]
Arriving there he approached the *Nar*[60]

He then pleaded incessantly
Then the *Nar* became gracious[61]

The *Nar* said, "Today, ask!"
"Whatever you request shall be granted"

Then Gūr Imām Shāh said
"Truly, show me paradise"

The *Nar* said, "Listen, Oh Imām
No one in the world has uttered such words"

As the the technical Ginānic term "*nar*" is used in this passage to designate the Ismāʿīlī Imām, it is clear that Imām Shāh is referred to by the word "Imām" which would be the shortened form of his proper name. Keeping the above discussion in mind, the verse would then translate to read:

The words of the Guide are true
For the Guide is certainly Imām [Shāh]
Imām [Shāh] is that very form (of the Guide)
And his name is Imām [Shāh]

This version certainly satisfies the context of the Ginān better and dispenses with the logical incongruity of Imām Shāh going to Persia to meet the Imām and, at the same time, being the Imām himself.

Regarding references in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Gināns to his claims of being the Imām, Nanji also writes:

> In v. 305 [of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī] an elaboration of these claims is promised by way of an addition to this ginān (a Vel). Such an appendix is probably another ginān called *Satveniji Vel* [ie. Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel], also attributed to Nar Muḥammad Shāh.[62]

A closer examination of canto 305, however, reveals no trace of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's supposed claims to the Imāmah, nor a promise for the elaboration thereof. The text and translation of this canto is as follows:

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savañt:pañdharaso:pusatālis:thayā:
navaso:bhares:rasulakuñ:bhaeyā:

esī:sanañdh:sat:varanī:kerī:
sāṭh:bharas:thīte:āgal:joḍī:

garath:ratanāñ:gar:jesā:huā:
sagalā:bhev:es:māñhe:kaheā:

bākī:vel:māñhe:kahege:sirā:
bhed:suratī:kā:usame:neārā:

jekoe:hoese:purā:satapañthī:
soe:nit:guragat:ke:hae:sāthī:

re:tuñhī:[*sāchā:sāñhiyā:pīyujī:tuñhī:*]

juṭhe:jāññat:sarve:keākarī:
jo:rācheā:makar:bharapurare:
je:sat:varaṇī:kuñ:paraharase:
so:tohoese:jan:adhurare:

The year is Samvat 1545
Nine hundred years of the Prophet (ie. of the Hijrī calendar) have passed

The royal mandate for [composing] this Account of Truth
Was granted sixty years ago[63]

This volume has become like an ocean filled with precious gems
For all the mysteries have been related in it

The remaining secrets shall be related in the [Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī]Vel[64]
In which the mysteries of meditation are unique

Whoever is a complete follower of the Path of Truth
Shall always remain with the Guide and the congregation

Oh You, [my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!]

Those who have practised falsehood knowingly
Who have indulged extensively in treachery
Who will forsake this Account of Truth
Those people will be incomplete

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As is obvious from the passage, the reference is not to an elaboration of any claims to the Imāmah in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, but rather a promise to reveal the mysteries of meditation (*surati*) to the believers. Indeed, it is incomprehensible that the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī would promise an elaboration of claims to the Imāmah when the Vel itself contains nothing of the sort.

Assertions that the printed version of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel omit fifty cantos of the manuscript versions "which deal with Nar Muḥammad Shāh's own claims to the Imāma"[65] are unfounded. While the manuscript versions of the work do have an additional fifty cantos, intense scrutiny of these unpublished verses by the present author did not reveal anything that could logically be construed as putting forth a claim for the Imāmah of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. The majority of the unpublished verses deal with eschatological matters such as the defeat of the forces of evil at the end of time by the Imām who will be known as *Qā'im* as well as *Mahdī*, both familiar epithets in the scheme of Ismā'īlī eschatology. A description of what shall occur before the *qiyāmah* (resurrection) is not at all unusual in Ismā'īlī Ginān literature.[66] The extensive detail in which Nūr Muḥammad Shāh portrays the events, however, is noteworthy but is not at all unusual considering the time period in which he was writing and the expectations associated with the approaching millennium.[67] In short, contrary to the assertions of previous authors, there is absolutely no evidence in either the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī or the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel which suggests that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed the Imāmah for either himself or his father. In fact, that the contrary can be illustrated from these works will be demonstrated presently.

A close study of all the historical sources and the works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh militate against any notion of his abandoning allegiance to the Imām in Persia, let alone claiming the Imāmah for himself. A discussion of this evidence is given below.

Lack of Contemporary Polemics Between the Two Rival Factions

One of the salient features of Ismā'īlī history is the fact that disputes over the succession to the Imāmah invariably generate literature which attempts to justify the position of a particular claimant to the office over another. Ismā'īlī chronicles are filled with such polemics.[68] As there were several Ismā'īlī dā'īs in the Subcontinent at the time of the alleged

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schism who were in regular and close contact with the Nizārī headquarters in Persia,[69] we would expect at least some intimations of the conflict between the rival camps as each side attempted to justify its own claims to the office of Imāmah. Evidence of such a conflict is conspicuously absent from the works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. It is odd that in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh justifies the position of Ismāʿīl over Mūsā Kāzim and that of Nizār over Mustaʿlī,[70] but says absolutely nothing to justify his own supposed claims to the Imāmah as opposed to those of the rival Imām in Persia. Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's younger contemporary, also fails to mention this schism in his Taṣnīfāt, though the apostasy of one of the highest ranking dāʿīs and his claims to the Imāmah would certainly be a matter of urgency worth refuting. On the contrary, the most pressing concern recorded in our contemporary sources is the secession of many Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism.[71] It is interesting that Pīr Dā'ūd (or Dādū), one of the most prominent of the Indian Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs after the death of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, is recorded to have been commissioned by the Imām Abū Dharr ʿAlī (d. after 1498) explicitly for the purpose of stemming this flow.[72] No mention is made of his having attempted to reconvert the followers of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. Thus, there is no contemporary literature of any sort which clearly indicates a conflict over the position of Imāmah between Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and the Ismāʿīlī Imām in Persia.

Continued Relations between Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Progeny and the Mainstream Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Movement

In the event of a split, one would rationally expect a mutual distancing between the two groups. This, however, was not the case. Not only were Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Gināns preserved in the corpus of the mainstream Nizārī Ismāʿīlī movement in India, but even the Gināns of four generations of his descendants, spanning over a century after the alleged split, remain preserved in the manuscripts and form part of the corpus of publications of the parent community. Thus the works of Sayyid Saʿīdu'd-Dīn b. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh (commonly known as Sayyid Khān) (d. Jumādī II 26, 980 AH/November 3, 1572 CE),[73] Sayyid Ṣāliḥ b. Saʿīdu'd-Dīn (d. Rajab 15, 1021 AH/September 1, 1612 CE),[74] Sayyid Hāshim Shāh b. Ṣāliḥ (d. Shawwāl 15, 1045 AH/March 14, 1636 CE)[75] and Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Dulhā' b. Hāshim Shāh (d. Rajab 7, 1067 AH/April 10, 1657 CE)[76] continued to be respected in the mainstream community as compositions that were *authorized* by the Imāms and thus given

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the status and title of 'Ginān.'[77]

Of equal relevance is the fact that the Imām Shāhīs have published the **Manhar** (Conquest of the Heart) written by Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh (d. 1792 or 1796).[78] This treatise on spirituality and asceticism is the work of a descendent of Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn through his son Raḥmatu'l-lāh Shāh whose allegiance to the Ismāʿīlī Imāms in Persia is unquestionable.[79] His mausoleum is presently in the possession of the Ismāʿīlīs in Kerā, Kachchh. Significantly, Nizārī tradition attributes to him the duty of delivering the religious dues to the Imām in Persia.[80] The fact that the Imām Shāhīs have published the Manhar indicates the distinct possibility of these two groups (if there were indeed two groups already) continuing relations until this late period.

Internal Evidence in the Manuscripts in the Possession of the Imām Shāhīs

Had Nūr Muḥammad Shāh initiated the sect which bears his father's name, one would expect that his followers would cease their allegiance to the line of Nizārī Imāms living in Īrān. However, while conducting research amongst the Imām Shāhīs, Gulshan Khakee found a number of manuscripts containing genealogies of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imāms, several of which extended far beyond the time of the alleged schism.[81] Similarly, the **Pīrāṇā Satpaṅth nī Pol** includes a genealogy of the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imāms up to the fortieth in the line, Shāh Nizār II (d. 1722), in its anthology of Imām Shāhī ritual prayers.[82] Al-Wāʿiẓ A.A. Aziz, who has conducted research in Pīrāṇā, informs me that this genealogy continues to form part of the prayers of some of the Imām Shāhīs even today.

Evidence in the Works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh

The writings of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh stand as the most obvious and direct testimony to his continued allegiance to the Nizārī Imāms in Persia. The **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** and the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** are replete with descriptions of how the earlier Pīrs would travel to Īrān to deliver the religious dues of the Ismāʿīlī *jamāʿats* to the Imām.[83] Such descriptions extend into the lifetime of the author himself when he narrates in detail the travels of his elder contemporary, Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn.[84] Had he wished to associate the Imāmah with his own family, he would have claimed that Tāju'd-Dīn delivered the dues to either himself or his father, Imām Shāh.

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In fact, as illustrated earlier, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh tells of his own father's travels to Persia for the purpose of requesting a boon from the Imām. In his narration of his father's ascent to Paradise, he describes how Imām Shāh pleaded with Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn to reveal the mystery (*maram*) of the *anañt karoḍ*, the "countless millions" who, according to Sat Pañth teachings, will be reunited with the Imām at the end of the final cosmic cycle. The dialogue which follows not only reveals that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh did not assign to his father the status of Imām, but that he considered his father to be below the rank of the Imām's ḥujjah, Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn.[85]

A very obvious indication of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's continued allegiance to the Imāms in Persia is his mentioning of the **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī** in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel. The **Pandiyāt** is a book of guidance dictated by the Ismāʿīlī Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh. Nanji incorrectly states that mention of the **Pandiyāt** occurs only in the printed version of the Ginān and not in the manuscripts.[86] In fact, in canto 166 of the manuscript version, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh orders the *Kaṇbī Jamāʿat* under his jurisdiction to follow the code of conduct prescribed in the **Pandiyāt** written by Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, supposedly the author's rival in Persia! He informs them that the guidance contained in it will allow them to cross over all existences (*usikuñ:jāñṇo:sakil:bhav:pāri:||*).[87] In addition, the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** insists that it is incumbent upon every believer to travel to the Imam's residence at least once during his lifetime, similar to injunctions contained in the **Pandiyāt**.[88] Had Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed the Imāmah for himself, he would hardly stress the existence of Imāms in foreign lands and the necessity of travelling to meet them. Canto 253 of the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** is equally convincing. In this canto, Imām Islām Shāh instructs Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn:

bodho:muridāñ:jāke:bich:hiñdh:|:
bodho:marad:jan:or:farajañdh:|:

hamāri:ālathi:jo:takhat:par:āve:|:
soi:imām:muridokākilāve:||:

Instruct the disciples (*murīdān*) in the midst of India (*Hiñd*)
Instruct the populace and their progeny

Whomever from amongst my descendants (*āl*) shall come upon the throne
He shall be known as the Imām of the disciples

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The passage makes it abundantly clear that the Imāmah can only be inherited by direct lineal descent from the previous Imām, something which Nūr Muḥammad Shāh could not (and never attempted to) claim. Perhaps the most obvious indication in the Gināns of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh to his continued allegiance to the line of Nizārī Imāms in Persia is his explicit reference to them in his various works. The **Sat Veṇī Moṭī** and **Sācho tuñ moro sāñhīāñ** unabashedly recognize Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh as the present Imām[89] and the last Imām mentioned in the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** is Imām Abū Dharr ᶜAlī (d. after 1498).[90] Such references eliminate any doubt whatsoever which may exist regarding Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's allegiance to the Nizārī Imāms.

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Role and Position in the Daᶜwah Hierarchy

The only extant sources of information which deal with the daᶜwah activities of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in any detail are occasional references in his own works. Apparently, at the time of his father's death, he was residing in Aḥmadābād, Gujarāt.[91] More specifically, this may be a reference to Girāmtha, a town approximately 15 kilometres from Aḥmadābād where Imām Shāh and his descendants settled and which became known as Pīrāṇā (The Coming of the Pīr) with the arrival of Imām Shāh.[92]

According to both evidence in the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** and community tradition, the death of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn occasioned an intriguing modification in the organization of the daᶜwah. The book **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī**, dictated by Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, was given the status of ḥujjah and dispatched to the various Nizārī enclaves.[93] Evidence in the **Pandiyāt** indicates that in the absence of a living Ḥujjah or Pīr, the Imām specifically commissioned various dāᶜīs (probably including Nūr Muḥammad Shāh himself) to lead the scattered Nizārī communities:

> ...if he (i.e. the Imam) has not appointed a *pīr*, you must come to know some person from amongst the learned (*sāḥibān-i ᶜilm*) whom he (i.e. the Imam) has commissioned to guide and to preach to people (*ba-dalālat wa daᶜwat*) so that you may attain through the guidance and preaching of such a person (*irshād wa daᶜwat*) the recognition of the Imam (*maᶜrifat-i Imām*). Thus you will not remain in wretchedness, attaining through the illumination of his knowledge (*rawshanā'ī-y-i ilm-i* [sic, *ᶜilm-i*]*ū*) the recognition of the Imam.[94]

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The introduction of the Pandiyāt seems to have caused problems amongst the *Lohāṇā* Ismāʿīlī followers in India, a group of whom appointed a certain "Kapūr" to lead them. Concerned about this unauthorized appointment, a party travelled to Īrān to request an officially sanctioned dāʿī for their guidance. With the intercession of his chamberlain, Mukhī Ghulām Muḥammad, the Imām agreed to the request, appointing a dāʿī by the name of Akbar to guide the congregation by the dictates of the Pandiyāt and the Gināns.[95]

Sometime thereafter, a group from amongst the *Mu'min Kaṇbīs*, a Gujarātī Ismāʿīlī agricultural community, lamenting the lack of leadership amongst them, approached Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in Aḥmadābād, pleading for him to return with them.[96] According to his own account, he was unwilling to do so initially and admonished the *Kaṇbīs* for the disgraceful manner in which they had treated Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn and Imām Shāh, claiming that he had abandoned the group and wanted no further dealings with them because of the injustices that they had inflicted upon his father. However, continued entreaties caused him to be overcome with pity and he agreed to live amongst the ten thousand *Kaṇbīs* after commanding them to seek forgiveness for their past indiscretions and eliciting a promise from them to obey the Imām, the family of the late Pīr and the Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī.[97]

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's narrative of his encounter with the *Kaṇbī Jamāʿat* and his description of his own Ginānic work are noteworthy. He writes:

tabato:hamakuñ:bau:mer:jo:āvi:||:
us:jumilā:ji:suñ:bhāt:firmāvi:||:

abh:tame:etini:jo:minatakarate:||:
to:ham:tamakuñ:e:elamajo:dhete:||:

elam::hae:e:sat:varaṇi:nām:||:
usipar:karanāñ:tame:dhinke:kām:||:

sabh:elamake:e:sār:jo:sārā:|:
esamāheñ:likheā:sakil:bhav:pārā:||:

anahadhi:esimāhe:hoege:bhaeāñn:||:
oliā:añbhiāke:bhedi:niravāñn:||:

esamāheñ:dhinakerā:hae:sabhi:sār:||:

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satapañth:māragake:sabh:vevār:||:

asali:nakil:sarave:jugiki:sāri:||:
esamāheñ:bhujarag:rupi:avatāri:||:

ese:elam:koi:jugimāhe:nāñhiñ:||:
so:āleā:usi:munivarake:tahiñ:||:

asal:usikā:je:kitā:sārā:||:
usathi:dhusare:dhafitir:utārā:||:

soi:le:dhitā:unuke:hāth:||:
esipar:chalio:milakar:sabh:sāth:||:

dharamake:honāñ:rit:rasañmajo:karanāñ:||:
bhañdhagi:neki:ki:sār:paravaranāñ:||:

esi:māhe:niam:dharam:hae:sārā:|:
esika:hoegā:sohi:anahadhi:pārā:||:

ese:elam:ham:dhite:usikuñ:||:
[dh]etā:gurujikā:bhāv:jisikuñ

Retuhi:sāchā:sāñhiāñ:piuji:||:

sohi:lekar:sāre:gaeāñ:||:
je:chalegeñ:esike:fir:māñn:re:||:
satagur:ji:em:boleāñ:||:
ehoe:bhakisisi:ginān:re[98]

Then I was overcome with pity
And said to that congregation:

"Now you are entreating so much
So I shall bestow that knowledge (*ʿilm*) upon you

This knowledge (*ʿilm*) is named The Account of Truth (Sat Varaṇī)
You must perform your religious works according to its injunctions

It is the essence of the essence of all knowledge (*ʿilm*)
In it is written that which will enable you to cross the ocean of all existences

Limitless will be the narratives contained within it

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Certainly, [it contains] the secrets of the saints (*awliyā*) and prophets (*anbiyā*)

In it are all the mysteries of the faith (*dīn*)
And all the conducts of the Path of Truth (*Sat Pañth*)

All the ancient tales of the world
Have manifested themselves in this [composition] in a venerable form"[99]

No knowledge (*ʿilm*) in the world can compare
To that which was bestowed upon those very believers there

From the original which had been written
A copy was transcribed

This was then taken and placed in their hands
"All of you gather and follow its injunctions

Become part of the religion and follow its practices
Propagate the mysteries of worship (*bandagī*) and goodness (*nekī*)

In this are all the practices of religion
Which will be limitless"

Such was the knowledge (*ʿilm*) which I gave to those
Who had love for the Guide

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Taking it, they all departed
Whoever conducts himself according to its injunctions (*farmān*)
The True Guide says:
He shall receive the gift of Gnosis.

Not only is the Ginān regarded as the sum total of all knowledge, but as the source of salvation and the key to gnosis. Equally important in this passage is evidence indicating that the Gināns existed in manuscript form during the lifetime of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and that copies were then transcribed from these originals. This further substantiates suggestions made by both Nanji and Kassam regarding the early origin of a manuscript tradition side-by-side with an oral tradition.[100]

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The Three Friends (*Traṇ Yār*) versus the Pure Pentad (*Paṇj Tan-i Pāk*)

Growing up amidst the turmoil into which the daʿwah was thrown after the death of his grandfather, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh seems to have been profoundly affected by the highly charged polemical atmosphere, a fact which comes across in the reading of the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī** and the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel.**

While it has been observed that polemics against other sects of Islām are exceedingly rare in the Ginānic corpus,[101] the writings of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh form a noteworthy exception. At a time when even some members of the higher echelons of the Ismāʿīlī daʿwah had defected to Sunnism, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh launched a spirited defence of the Shīʿī faith. His portrayal of the confrontation between Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyyā, the great ṣūfī shaykh of Multān, and Pīr Shams, the Ismāʿīlī ḥujjah, subtly attempts to demonstrate the superiority of the Sat Pañth to Sunnism.[102]

The narrative commences with a description of Bahāu'd-Dīn's great consternation with the arrival of Shams in his area of influence. Following a confrontation between the two, Bahāu'd-Dīn is immensely disturbed and after much thought and reflection he summons his son, Shaykh Ṣadr, entrusting to him a bowl which he has filled to the brim with milk and commanding him to present it to Shams. The ensuing events are shrouded in symbolism. Having been commanded to maintain absolute silence during his encounter with the Ismāʿīlī dāʿī, Shaykh Ṣadr arrives at the mosque where Shams has alighted. He presents him with the bowl and looks on, intrigued. Shams, understanding the message, calmly plucks a flower and places it upon the milk where it gently floats. He returns the bowl to Shaykh Ṣadr and then takes a handful of dust with which he forms three small hills. A gust of wind suddenly blows the hills and scatters the dust. After witnessing this enigmatic series of events, Shaykh Ṣadr returns to his father, completely distraught. He demands to know the meaning of all these actions and badgers his father with a series of questions:

> Why did you send him the bowl of milk?
> Why did the *faqīr* accept it?
>
> And why did he return it to me
> Having placed upon it the flower that he had ordered?
>
> Relate to me what he has said.

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Greatly shaken, the saint attempts to describe the meaning of these symbols:

Listen carefully to my words

The bowl of milk that I sent
May be explained thus -

....Wishing to say this I sent it:
You [Shams] must not remain in this place
For there are many great pīrs here
All of whom reside in this town

Just as this bowl is filled to the brim with milk
And nothing more can remain within it

This land (*mulk*) is filled with saints (*buzurg*)
Thus, you cannot stay here, there is no room for you

So you must leave this town of Uchchh
Go to another city and accomplish your work there

This is the secret of what I told him
And he understood the misgivings in my heart

Therefore, he ordered a flower and placed it [on top of the milk]
By which he told me of his own secret

....The secret of placing the flower is thus,
This is the message the *faqīr* has sent:
Do not fret, Oh Bahāu'd-Dīn
For I shall do you no harm

Just as you see this flower floating [above the milk]
I will conduct myself in this place

I will remain amongst you as the flower
So do not be fearful in the least

This was the conversation which occurred between us
Understand this, Shaykh Ṣadr

Those who are intelligent (*ʿāqil*) will derive understanding from this

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I have explained the mystery of this
Understand the whole of it and take it to heart[104]

Not only does Shams claim that his presence will not disturb the other ṣūfīs in the area, but that his status is so lofty that he will rise above all of them, as the flower floats above the milk. However, Shaykh Ṣadr is not satisfied and his further inquiries cause great anguish to Bahāu'd-Dīn who begs his son to desist from such questions.

Shaykh Ṣadr then said
I wish to inquire about something else:
When I went into his presence
Then he did a very perplexing thing

He fashioned three hills from dust
Which were then carried away by the wind

You have said nothing regarding the mystery of this act
Explain to me all the details of this

So that my intellect (*ʿaql*) may ponder over
The perplexing action which the *faqīr* has done

Upon hearing this Bahāu'd-Dīn burst into tears
And lost control of his heart in the presence of his son

Then he spoke the following words:
You must never ask about this action!

....The secret of this is unbearable
For it is the destruction of our religion
This *faqīr* appears to be exceedingly dangerous
And he has made me aware of this fact

Once again Shaykh Ṣadr said
The mystery of this has lodged itself in my consciousness

First you must reveal to me the total secret of this
So that there may be peace within my heart

Then, weeping, Bahāu'd-Dīn said,
The secret of this is such

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That you must desist from inquiring about it, Oh my son!
For to ask such questions is a futile venture

In spite of this, Shaykh Ṣadr would not relent
And continued to interrogate his father

....He questioned incessantly
When finally Bahāu'd-Dīn said:
By taking the dust and fashioning hills of it
He has caused us great harm

The three hills represent the Three Friends [*traṇ yār*, ie. Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and Uthmān]
He caused them to be swept away by the wind

The meaning of this is
That their religion (*madhhab*) has been swept away

In addition to this, he has also conveyed
That those who believe in them shall be reduced to dust[105]

This fascinating narrative paints a vivid picture in its representation of the *traṇ yār* or "three friends." *Traṇ yār*, perhaps better translated as "three collaborators" in the context of the composition, obviously refers to the first three *khalīfahs* of Islām, Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and Uthmān, whom Shīᶜas believe to have deprived ᶜAlī of his right of succession to the Prophet.[106] Not only are they contemptuously symbolized by three hills of dust, but the school founded by them and its followers are to be reduced to dust and swept away by the wind. In an elaboration of this narrative, Imām Shāh writes:

The blind ones did not even understand this -
How can the Three Friends (*traṇ yār*) ever compare to the Pure Pentad (*panj tan*)
Who caused the Divine Scripture (*kitāb*) to descend from providence (*qudrat*)
As well as *Dul Dul* and *Dhū'l-Fiqār*?[107]

The mantle (*chādar*) descended from the Heavenly Throne (ᶜ*arsh*)
And covered the Pure Pentad
The Houris also descended from the Heavenly Throne (ᶜ*arsh*)
In the house of Lady Fāṭimah[108]

The reference in these verses is quite clearly to the famous tradition known as the *Ḥadīthu'l-Kisā* or "Tradition of the Mantle" in which Muḥammad is supposed to have covered himself,

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ʿAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn with his cloak and declared: "These are my *Ahlu'l-Bayt* (People of my Household)," after which the following verse of the Qur'ān is said to have been revealed to him, "Verily, God but desires to remove all abomination from you, Oh People of the Household, to make you pure and spotless."[109] In this context, the Ginān asks the pointed question, "How can the Three Friends (*traṇ yār*) ever compare to the Pure Pentad (*panj tan*)?" Citing this same passage from the Qur'ān, the **Kalām-i Pīr** goes on to assert, in a similar manner as the Gināns, that as a corollary to this revelation, all the Imāms are *maʿsūm* (protected from error), something which the first three *khalīfahs* could not claim.[110]

When Shams is unjustly accused of flouting the prescriptions of the *sharīʿah*, he delivers a stinging rebuke of his accusers in a narrative displaying remarkable continuity and congruity with earlier Ismāʿīlī esoteric teachings. Shams accuses the literalists of following the letter of the law while ignoring the spirit. He chastises those who perform the *masḥ* (ritual touching of the head and feet) and *namāz* (obligatory prayers) of the body while neglecting the worship and purification of the heart. The explanation which Nūr Muḥammad Shāh puts in the mouth of Shams bears remarkable similarity to passages in al-Kirmānī's **ar-Risālatu'l-Waḍī'ah fī Maʿālimi'd-Dīn**. Kirmānī asserts that the worship of actions (*al-ʿibādatu'l-ʿamaliyyah*) is useless without the worship of knowledge (*al-ʿibādatu'l-ʿilmiyyah*).[111] The former is revealed by the Prophet while the latter is conveyed by the Imām.[112] One cannot exist without the other. In his **Rāḥatu'l-ʿAql** he explains the relationship thus:

> Practical worship [ie. exoteric worship] is the worship which should first be in force while following the road leading to Paradise. This is because it strengthens the human soul and trains it in acquiring the ethical virtues which act as a succour to the rational virtues. These rational virtues provide the human soul with the other kind of worship *which is actualized with knowledge.*[113]

The efficacy of the prescriptions of the *sharīʿah* is thus dependent upon the component of knowledge. This is also attested to by Sijistānī who writes in **Kitābu'l-Yanābīʿ** (The Book of Sources):

> ...the revealed laws (*ash-sharāʾiʿ an-nāmūsiyya*) are used to put the natural world in good order and to maintain mankind in a virtuous state. Yet, to cling to these laws, when void from knowledge, and to use them as such will ruin the subtle form [ie. the soul] and produce doubt and confusion.[114]

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In a similar vein, through the figure of Shams, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh charges the *zāhirīs* with forsaking the element of knowledge in their performance of *masḥ* and *namāz*:

You do not wish to have a true believer (*mu'min*) amongst you
Oh you ignorant (*jāhil*), lost people
A true believer (*mu'min*) is he
Whose dealings are with knowledge (*ʿilm*)

You have forsaken the love of knowledge (*ʿilm*)
Though ignorant, you have given all this advice

You never go in quest of knowledge (*ʿilm*)
You have forsaken all understanding of gnosis and contemplation

How will you find the path to the manifest shore
When you conduct yourselves without the Guide (*pīr murshid*)?

According to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, *al-ʿibādatu'l-ʿamaliyyah* cannot lead to salvation in the absence of *al-ʿibādatu'l-ʿilmiyyah*, which itself is inaccessible in the absence of the Guide, ie. the Ismāʿīlī Imām. The tone of the passage strongly suggests that it is inspired by the famous prophetic *ḥadīth* oft quoted in Shīʿī literature, "He who dies not knowing his Imām dies the death of the Days of Ignorance (*jāhiliyyah*)."[115]

Not only are the Sunnīs chastised for following the wrong path, but they are criticized for being absolutely incapable of recognizing the truth when it is revealed to them. This incapacity of the majoritarian Muslim community to understand the Ismāʿīlī teachings is given by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh as one of the reasons why Pīr Shams conducted extensive daʿwah activity amongst the Brahmins. In his account of the preachings of Pīr Shams, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh castigates the Sunnīs for their alleged incapacity to comprehend the teachings of the Sat Pañth:

Pīr Shams journeyed to Panjāb
Remaining very steadfast in his heart

There he preached tirelessly
But all the people were heedless (*ghāfil*)

For they were Sunnīs who believed in the Three Friends (*traṇ yār*)
How could they fathom the True Path?

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realpatidar.com Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The Guide preached relentlessly
Yet the fools did not heed him
How can the heedless ones who work for glass
Ever comprehend the value of a jewel?[116]

Synopsis

The above description makes it abundantly clear that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh did not forsake the Ismāʿīlī cause, let alone claim the Imāmah for himself. On the contrary, the evidence seems to suggest that he was one of the dāʿīs, referred to in the Pandiyāt as the *ṣāḥibān-i ʿilm*, specifically commissioned by the Imām to lead a particular Ismāʿīlī *jamāʿat* in the absence of a living, appointed ḥujjah. In this capacity he performed a valuable role in resisting the threat posed by the Sunnī majority and by maintaining the integrity of the community in the face of challenges faced by the prevailing turmoil in the Indian branch of the daʿwah.

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Chapter 4
Mystic Vision

Behold the infatuated passion in this play of love
A raging fire is kindled, consuming everything in its wake

Now and again its flames engulf the breast in all directions
Just as the wick blazes forth in the lamp

Not a moment is spared from its affliction
In an instant it ignites each and every cell of the being

Though a mighty downpour bursts forth from the seven heavens
The raging fire of love cannot be extinguished

The true moment is that of love
In which not an atom escapes love's scorching flames

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

This is the play of love
For those who have been struck by love for the Beloved
It blazes upward, increasing in strength
Though torrential rains surge forth from the heavens![1]

There is a growing awareness among scholars of the profound historical and doctrinal relationship that exists between Shīʿism and Ṣūfism, an awareness that finds support in the most reliable tomes of Islāmic history. No less an authority than the celebrated Ibn Khaldūn writes:

> The fact that (the Sufis) restrict (precedence in mysticism) to ʿAlī smells strongly of pro-Shīʿah sentiment. This and other aforementioned Sufi ideas show that the Sufis have adopted pro-Shīʿah sentiments and have become enmeshed in them.[2]

Sayyed Hossein Nasr observes that while the esoteric dimension of Islām is almost entirely confined to Ṣūfism in the tradition of the Sunnīs, it permeates virtually all aspects of Shīʿī tradition.[3] Thus, it is no longer correct to speak of Islāmic mysticism and Ṣūfism as if the two were interchangeable. Both Ismāʿīlī and Ithnā ʿAsharī Shīʿism boast their own mystical

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traditions which cannot be subsumed under the heading of *taṣawwuf*.[4] Thus, some of our modern scholars have challenged the prevailing notions about the origins and purport of Islāmic mysticism. Charles Adams, in describing the opinion of Henry Corbin, the illustrious French Islāmicist, writes:

> [In Corbin's estimation] Sufism could be characterized as a kind of proto-Shi'ism or incipient Shi'ism, as a partially developed spirituality on the way to achieving the fullness that would come with the recognition of the Imams and their authority. In disagreement with many other scholars, Corbin held that Sufism is not the sole or even the principal expression of Islamic spirituality; the honor of fulfilling the latter role belonged to Imami Shi'ism.[5]

Keeping the above in mind, it becomes clear that the supposition suggested by several authors, that Nizārī Ismā'īlism assumed the "guise" of a Ṣūfī *ṭarīqah* after the fall of Alamūt,[6] is not entirely correct. A much more appropriate interpretation would suggest that the mystical dimension of Islām, already inherent in the Ismā'īlī approach to the *bāṭin*, became much more prominent in response to the change in circumstances after Alamūt was conquered; just as the Ismā'īlī (and indeed generally Shī'ī) doctrine of *ta'līm*, already existent in Fāṭimid times, took on unprecedented importance in response to the change in circumstances which took place when the Nizārī branch of the movement shifted its headquarters to Daylam.

Already in the poetry of Ḥakīm Nizārī Quhistānī (1247-1320) we find great similarity with the forms of expression found in Ṣūfī literature.[7] In fact, his works continue to be read as standard Ṣūfī texts without the awareness that the theories expressed therein are fundamentally Ismā'īlī.[8] Later Nizārī authors writing in Persian exhibit the same tendency. For example, the works of Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī (a younger contemporary of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh), particularly the twenty-seventh *qiṭ'ah* of his Qata'āt entitled "*Dar Bayān-i Pīr Shināsī*," display a remarkable affinity between Ismā'īlī theosophical thought and mystical forms of expression generally designated as Ṣūfī.[9] Similarly, the **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī** (also written at about the period of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh) addresses the followers of the Imām by such Ṣūfī sounding terms as *ahl-i ḥaqq* and *ahl-i ḥaqīqat*, the people of the truth,[10] while the Imām himself is designated as *pīr*, *murshid* and *quṭb*.[11] The same hierarchical scheme of *shari'ah-ṭarīqah-ḥaqīqah* used by the Ṣūfīs is also found in the **Pandiyāt**, with the *ḥaqīqah* involving a mystical recognition of the Imām's ultimate reality.[12]

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Approximately a century later, the Dīwān of Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī (d. after 1646) refers frequently to such celebrated Ṣūfī personalities as Nizāmī, Ḥāfiz, Saᶜdī, ᶜAṭṭār and Sanā'ī as well as to several well-known mystical tales including those of Laylā and Majnūn, Khusraw and Shīrīn, and Maḥmūd and Āyāz. The progression of *sharī'ah-ṭarīqah-ḥaqīqah* is also mentioned in this work.[13]

Both Ivanow and Corbin concur that Ṣūfī theosophy demonstrates notable similarities with the Ismā'īlī scheme of *ḥaqā'iq*.[14] The Shīᶜī conception of the Imām and the idea of the *Quṭb* in Ṣūfism are virtually identical, as is attested to by Sayyid Ḥaydar Amulī (d. 1385) the illustrious Ithnā ᶜAsharī theosopher, theologian and gnostic (*ᶜārif*) who asserts that "[t]he Quṭb and the Imām are two expressions possessing the same meaning and referring to the same person."[15] Equally striking is the similarity between the Shīᶜī conception of Imāmah and the doctrine of the Perfect Man (*al-insānu'l-kāmil*) as expounded by Ibn ᶜArabī and his school.[16]

Such remarkable affinity of expression has caused more than one scholar to comment that "...cases begin to appear quite often in which it is difficult to say whether we are dealing with an Ismaili work, much influenced by the Sufic manner, or a Sufic work, influenced by Ismailism."[17] Such a coalescence exists, for example, in Maḥmūd Shabistarī's celebrated treatise, the Gulshan-i Rāz or "Rose-Garden of Mystery," composed in 1317, which has been commented upon by at least one Nizārī author.[18] Not only Shabistarī, but some of Persia's most eminent Ṣūfī poets are regarded as co-religionists by the Nizārīs who have preserved selections of their works. Such prominent personalities include Sanā'ī (d. *circa* 1140), Farīdu'd-Dīn ᶜAṭṭār (d. *circa* 1230), and Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273), as well as lesser Ṣūfī personalities such as Qāsimu'l-Anwār (d. *circa* 837/1433).[19] ᶜAzīzu'd-Dīn Nasafī (d. *circa* end of the 13th century), the renowned Ṣūfī master of Central Asia who later moved to Persia, is also believed to have been an Ismāᶜīlī. The Badakhshānī Nizārīs preserve his treatise entitled Zubdatu'l-Ḥaqā'iq as an Ismāᶜīlī work.[20] Even the Qāsim-Shāhī Ismāᶜīlī Imāms themselves are believed to have lived inconspicuously as Ṣūfī pīrs for centuries after the fall of Alamūt.[21] When the Nizārī Imāms became resident in Anjūdān from the late fifteenth century to the end of the seventeenth century, it became prevalent among them to adopt names such as Shāh Qalandar and Shāh Gharīb or to add the terms Shāh and ᶜAlī to

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their names, in common with many Ṣūfī shaykhs.[22] It is fascinating to note that genealogical lists of the Persian Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Imāms, treated as the *sajjādah nashīns* of a distinct Ṣūfī *silsilah*, are to be found in the *risālahs* of the Khāksar or Ḥaydarī *darwīshes* who seem to have no relationship with Ismāʿīlism.[23] In fact, Ivanow asserts that many modern Īrānian Ṣūfīs still have to learn the list of Ismāʿīlī Imāms by heart even though they are not sectarians.[24]

Taking both the historical and doctrinal commonality between numerous aspects of Ṣūfism and Ismāʿīlism into account, it is of little wonder that the Ismāʿīlī Ginān literature reflects the mystical tendency of Persian Ismāʿīlī works written in the same period. A realization of the extraordinary mystical tenor present in much of Sat Pañth literature moved Françoise Mallison to comment that the Gināns "are permeated with Sufi concepts and symbols and Islamic thought."[25] This recognition should come as no surprise, particularly when we consider the highly charged mystical atmosphere that prevailed in the Subcontinent in the medieval period as well as the historical development of Ismāʿīlism in Indo-Pākistān.

Non-Ismāʿīlī chronicles portray Pīr Sat Gūr Nūr (also known as Sayyid Saʿdāt and Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad) as one of the premier Ṣūfī saints of Gujarāt.[26] Similarly, the exploits of Pīr Shams have become legendary in the Ṣūfī poetry of Panjāb and Sindh in which the Pīr is immortalized as one of the martyrs of love.[27] Tales of Shams did not remain confined to the Indian Subcontinent, but were extremely popular and widely circulated among the Ṣūfīs in Īrān as well as in the northern areas of Afghānistān and Tibet.[28] With Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn we find evidence of a relationship between the Indian Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs and established Ṣūfī fraternities. Not only does Kabīru'd-Dīn's name appear in ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī's biography of Ṣūfīs, but he is identified as a leader of the Suhrawardī order of *darwīshes*.[29] Imām Shāh, Kabīru'd-Dīn's son and the father of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, is identified by ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān in his Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī as a Ṣūfī who was buried in the vicinity of Aḥmadābād.[30] Such close connections between the Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs and the Ṣūfīs of the Subcontinent led to their being "revered as Sufic *pīrs*"[31] by non-sectarians. In fact, non-Ismāʿīlī pilgrims frequenting the *dargāhs* of such famous Ismāʿīlī *ḥujjahs* as Pīr Shams (Shams-i Tabrīz of Multān), Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn (Ḥājī Ṣadr Shāh) and Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn (Ḥasan Daryā) probably outnumber the Ismāʿīlī pilgrims themselves.

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Indeed, a significant portion of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Veṇī Moṭī, like many compositions of his contemporary co-religionists in Persia, may be read by any Ṣūfī without the realization that it is an Ismāʿīlī work. The expressions used in general Ṣūfī circles of the Subcontinent to refer to the Divine Beloved or the Prophet are used specifically for the Ismāʿīlī Imām in the vocabulary of the Gināns. An introduction to the Sat Veṇī Moṭī attests to this fact:

> In this Sat Veṇī, in various places epithets such as *murshid* (guide), *shāh* (lord), *gur* (teacher), *surījan* (master), *piyuñ* (beloved) and so on are used and refer to none other than the Holy Nūr of the Light of Divine Unity (*nūr-i waḥadāniyyat*) which shines forth from the Present Imām (*imām-i ḥāḍir*) in every age (*zamān*).[32]

In common with mainstream Ṣūfī tradition, in the Sat Veṇī Moṭī we find cantos recounting the selfless love of Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawiyyah, the sacrifices of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Adham, and the tribulations of Majnūn and his beloved Laylā. The classical *sharīʿah-ṭarīqah-ḥaqīqah-maʿrifah* division found in both Ṣūfī (particularly Bektāshī) and Persian Ismāʿīlī literature is equally present in the works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh:

> The faithful (*muʿmin*) whom I was guiding on the Path
> Were shown the Way of the Account of Truth
>
> All four paths (*ṭarīqah*) are contained within it
> The Law (*sharīʿah*) is to be found manifest in it
>
> All the mysteries of Gnosis (*maʿrifah*) are unique
> Even in those sections which concern the Law (*sharīʿah*)
>
> The Path (*ṭarīqah*) is that of all the enlightened ones (*anwarī*)
> And there is rather a lot said about the Path (*ṭarīqah*) as well
>
> The Path of Sat Paũth is composed entirely of the Truth (*ḥaqīqah*)
> Even that subject is very unique in this composition
>
> This Account of Truth is a priceless ruby
> With words comparable to diamonds, pearls and precious gems
>
> Its Way has become straight
> Which is derived from the Law (*sharīʿah*)
>
> The great Pīrs and Prophets (*payghāmbar*)
> Whose marvellous portents were shown

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All of them are manifested in this composition
All are mentioned in their truthful places

How to enter the Faith (*dīn*) and how to profit from the Path
How to meditate upon the Words of meditation, all are written in this

All these words will be like rubies
Nothing shall compare with them

Brother, there is no *Pūrāṇa* (ancient Hiñdū scripture) comparable to this
No equivalent composition is to be found anywhere

Whoever is ignorant (*bī-ʿilmī*) and languishes in the sleep of heedlessness (*ghāfil*)
Must certainly peruse this Account of Truth

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

An irreligious person who listens to it
Shall become one of the Truthful
For those who are ignorant and aimless
This counsel is their salvation[33]

The Khojkī manuscripts eloquently attest to the predilection for mysticism amongst the Sat Pañthī Ismāʿīlīs. In addition to the Gināns, these manuscripts contain a plethora of mystical literature, especially poetry. Thus, we find selections from the Mathnawī of Rūmī in both the Persian original and in Sindhī translation; verses of the most illustrious mystic poet of Sindh, Shāh ʿAbdu'l-Laṭīf; passages from the works of renowned *bhaktī* and *sañt* poets such as Kabīr, Mirā Bāī, Nānak, Ravī Dās and Narsīñh Mehtā; and *ghazals* composed by Amīr Khusraw and Shaykh Saʿdī.[34] The terms of address used in letters produced by E.I. Howard, a counsel for the defence at the celebrated "Aga Khan Case" of 1866 at the High Court of Bombay, testify to the continuation of the community's self-perception as an order of mystics:

> The first document I shall now proceed to read, is a letter - which with others will of course be tendered in evidence - written in Persian. The date answers to 23 May 1792. It was written by Shah Khalilullah (the Aga's Father) to the Jamat of "*Dervishes*," or devotees at Bhownuggur; and in it he says he has been so fortunate as to have taken his seat on the throne of the *Pirs*....The next letter is dated July 1794, the precise day does not appear. It is from the Shah Khalilullah, and addressed to the sincere and faithful *Dervishes* residing in Scinde, Kutch, Surat, Bombay, Mahim, Bhownuggur and other places.[35]

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The use of the term "*dervish*" in the above-quoted letters obviously indicates the community's mystical perception of itself. Even today, it is rare to find a library in any Sat Pañthī Ismāʿīlī *Jamāʿat Khānah* that does not house works (either in the original or in translation) of Rūmī, ʿAṭṭār, Saʿdī and other Ṣūfīs.

Despite the existence of numerous mystically inclined Muslim communities in the Subcontinent, including the Sat Pañthī Ismāʿīlīs, the Islāmic mystical literature of Indo-Pākistān has received remarkably little attention from Islāmicists most of whom tend to concentrate exclusively on the literature produced in Persia and ʿArabia ignoring, in the process, the vast amount of mystical literature produced in other parts of the world.[36] This unusual lack is particularly strange when one considers that there is more prose and poetry composed in Persian in the Subcontinent than in Īrān itself.[37] This, of course, does not even take into account the vast amount of literature composed in the vernaculars. The condemnation of the Indian cultural milieu by the *ashrāf*, the foreign born Muslim religious elite, is at least partially responsible for the neglect of Islāmicists. According to A.S. Asani, when Islām spread to India, the *ashrāf's*:

> desire to maintain the 'pristine' purity of Islam led them to disparage everything Indian--from Indian languages which they considered unworthy of recording Islamic religious literature to even the native Indian Muslims whom they contemptuously called *ajlāf*, 'mean,' ignoble,' 'wretches.'[38]

However, the disdain of the *ashrāf* did not prevent the Islāmic tradition from reconciling itself to the local languages, mores and traditions. It was left to the more mystically minded who did not feel bound, as did the theologians, to the Perso-ʿArab interpretation of Islām to introduce the religion into the Indian environment. As Aziz Ahmed has rightfully commented, "Sufis were responsible more than any other religious or cultural group, for the conversion, in India, of masses of Hindus to Islam."[39] Their success was so overwhelming that today, the combined total of believers in the Subcontinent (ie. modern India, Pākistān and Banglādesh) is the largest single population of Muslims anywhere in the Islāmic world.

In medieval India classical ʿArabic and Persian were inaccessible to the masses. Hence, as Ivanow has noted:

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> Either by intuition, or sound and clever reasoning, the Nizari Ismaili missionaries devised some methods which helped them to overcome such local obstacles....One [such method] was their bold tactics [sic] in separating the meaning and spirit of Islam from its hard Arabic shell.[40]

Thus, the Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs resorted to using the indigenous languages as well as symbols. Such a practice, though abhorrent to the religious lawyers, was readily acceptable to many Ṣūfīs. As Pīr-i Rawshan, the well-known religious leader in the Afghān-Indian border zone during the reign of Akbar stated, "God speaks in every language, be it Arabic, Persian, Hindi, or Afghani: He speaks in the language which the human heart can understand."[41] In fact, an intriguing note in one hagiography indicates that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, after educating his son, Sayyid Khān, in ʿArabic, Persian, Urdū [ie. Hindustānī] and the Islāmic sciences, sent him to Kāshī (Benares) to study Sanskṛt and Hiñdū religious literature.[42] This training for participation in the Sat Pañth mission displays remarkable conformity with the prescriptions for daʿwah laid down during Fāṭimid times. Already in the **ar-Risālatu'l-Mūjizatu'l-Kāfiyah fī Shurūṭi'd-Daʿwati'l-Hādiyyah** of Sayyidnā Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm (or Muḥammad) an-Naysābūrī (*circa* first half of the ninth century) the importance of being conversant in the religious, cultural and linguistic environment of the area in which the Ismāʿīlī dāʿī wishes to gain proselytes is stressed:

> [The dāʿī] must be a clever and intelligent man, learned, and a born orator and preacher. He must know the local language of the province in which he works, just as he must know the local religions, and be up to the standard of the local cultured society, so that he may have a common language when addressing them.[43]

It must be stressed, however, that the vernaculars were not used by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh and others simply as unsophisticated substitutes for the refined ʿArabic and Persian of the literati. On the contrary, the indigenous languages provided an excellent medium for the expression of mystical thought. A. Schimmel, the renowned scholar of Ṣūfism, has written, "Some of the finest mystical verses ever written in the world of Islam...are written in Sindhi."[44] An example of the felicity of Indian vernaculars for conveying Islāmic mystical thought can be found in the *mathnawī* of the love of Lorak and Chāñdā, composed by Mawlānā Dāʾūd for Firūz Shāh Tughluq's *wazīr* in around 1370, about which ʿAbdu'l-Qādir Badāʾūnī writes:

> When certain learned men of that time asked the shaikh saying, "What is the reason

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for the Hindi mathnawi being selected?" he answered, "The whole of it is divine truth and pleasing in subject, worthy of the ecstatic contemplation of devout lovers, and conformable to the interpretation of some of the ayats of the Koran, and the sweet singers of Hindustan. Moreover, by its public recitation human hearts are taken captive."[45]

Even Sayyid Muḥammad Gesudarāz Bandanawāz, whom Schimmel describes as following "the shariᶜa-bound tradition" praised Hiñdī as a language of poetry "that moves and induces man to submissiveness and humility,"[46] and "spoke of Hindwi[47] as particularly sweet and fitting for religious songs."[48] According to the sayyid, while each language was endowed with its own virtues "none was as effective as Hindawi for through it esoteric ideas could be so clearly expressed. Hindawi music...was also subtle and elegant, penetrating deeply into the heart and arousing humility and gentleness."[49]

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh not only used the vernacular languages in his compositions, but also the indigenous idiom, symbols and style. While he makes use of such standard Ṣūfī models as Laylā and Majnūn, Rābiᶜah al-ᶜAdawiyyah and Ibrāhīm b. Adham, not all the heroes and heroines of his works are transplanted from foreign soil. He also draws upon the rich lore of Indian history to develop his themes in a most endearing way. His portrayal of Rāvaṇ, the evil demon-king of Laṅkā and nemesis of the *avatār* Rām in the classic Indian epic poem **Rāmayaṇa**, is a wonderful example. In the epic, Rāvaṇ carries off Sītā, the wife of Rām, to his island kingdom. After a mighty war, Rām finally kills the demon by chopping off his ten heads, and reclaims his wife. However, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's ironic reinterpretation of the events adds a delightful, if not instructive, twist to the story:

Oh people, behold this play of love
And the manifold fashions in which one becomes enraptured

All the friends who felt pangs of longing
Have found union with love

All those who forsook their heads and sat detached
Have entered the abode of the Beloved

Behold the case of Rāvaṇ who, for the sake of an ordinary human being [Sītā]
Was not content to remain with his vast wealth

He was struck by love for Sītā

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And thus [Rām] destroyed Rāvaṇ's ten heads

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If Rāvaṇ underwent such suffering for the sake of Sītā
And gave his ten heads
Then for the sake of the True Beloved
Can you not give even one head?[50]

The use of the vernaculars was not without its drawbacks. Writing in the local idiom and languages continued to have a stigma attached to it. Muḥammad Saghīr (d. 1501), in his Bengālī version of the celebrated Persian epic, **Yūsuf wa Zulaykhā**, complains:

People are afraid of writing *ketab* [ie. real books] in
Bengali. Everyone will blame me but it is not right that
they should....If what is written is true, it does not
matter what language it is written in.[51]

The Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs were certainly not immune to such criticism. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh indicates that certain Muslims censured him for writing his compositions in Hiñdavī:

There are numerous ignorant people in this city
Who calumniate against this book (*kitāb*)

Saying, "The entire Sat Varaṇī is in Hiñdavī
There is no salvation for Muslims in it"

Such were the accusations of all the people
Who used to gather everywhere in groups, saying:

"The way of Muḥammad Shāh is false
Who makes the ignoble amongst the Hiñdūs become Muslims

He has composed a book (*kitāb*)
Which has assumed the name Sat Varaṇī"

Such were the calumnies levelled by the people
Who did not even fear the Creator[52]

While the use of Indian vernaculars is a distinguishing characteristic of Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī literature, one of the most significant features apparent in the Gināns, in common with many other Ismāʿīlī works, is the endeavour to take the reader beyond the written word, the *ẓāhir*,

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into the realm of a deeper, eternal reality, the *bāṭin*. Seemingly innocent passages which, on first inspection, appear to be simple historical narratives are abruptly discovered to contain new and enthralling intimations of meaning. The intricate and dizzying blend of exoteric and esoteric tease the reader, leaving him bewildered by the astounding number of possible interpretations. A typical case in point is a discussion in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel recounting the life of Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn. The reader is under the impression that he is perusing a simple biographical sketch of the Pīr until he realizes that what he is reading is actually an allegory. In the biography of Ṣadru'd-Dīn, the Pīr encounters a number of symbolic characters from the classic Ṣūfī epic Manṭiqu'ṭ-Ṭayr including both Shaykh San^{c}ān and the bewitching Greek enchantress (*firangī*) for whom the shaykh abandoned his Ṣūfī robes in favour of tending her herd of swine; the Ismā^{c}īlī Pīr even has a fascinating encounter with the author of this mystical treatise, Shaykh Farīdu'd-Dīn ^{c}Aṭṭār himself. An esoteric element is thus woven into the tale which is now raised to a completely new dimension. Veiled in the guise of Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn's biography is thus a revelation of spiritual initiation and metaphysical quest whereby the annals of history are transformed into metahistory and a transhistorical drama unfolds which defies historical method. The scholar thus treads on tenuous ground when he tries to subsume the Gināns under systematic, ordered categories of understanding and to impose upon them or see in them some kind of rational scheme, thus "historicizing" the sacred and degrading the truly spiritual onto the historical plane. The overwhelming historical perspective employed when examining the Gināns and other esoteric literature has often tended to eradicate the line between the sacred and the profane. By secularizing the sacred, we are in danger of losing it entirely and thus misunderstanding esoteric phenomena such as Sat Pañth. The blend of myth, history and instruction in the compositions of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh subtly tempt the reader to enter into a world beyond the plane of our lowly reality. Each verse mocks reason's futile attempts to unlock its secrets and yet invites the seeker to delve into the depths of its mysteries and unearth its treasures. As Nanji has written:

> The Ginans belong to a literary category which is generally defined as "anagogic," that is to say, "mystical or esoteric in its broadest sense." Like the Haqa'iq literature of classical Isma^{c}ilism, the Ginans thrive on the use of ta'wil aiming to penetrate the inner (*bāṭin*) signification of the Qur'ān rather than the external (*ẓāhir*) aspects. On this basis the Ginans comprise a whole system of hermeneutics, metamorphosing positive religion with its external rules and obligations into a theosophy which constitutes the *satpanth* or "True Religion," leading the adept through a process of

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intellectual and spiritual initiation to the truth of the Haqa'iq.[53]

Before proceeding it must be noted that the term *ta'wīl* cannot, as Wladmir Ivanow has pointedly indicated, be translated as "allegorical interpretation."[54] In fact, it is precisely the opposite. According to Ismāʿīlī belief, sacred texts such as the Qur'ān, the corpus of *ḥadīths*, the *farmāns* of the Imāms and the Ginān are often esoteric and allegorical by nature and are thus in need of interpretation. Resort was therefore made to the science of *ta'wīl* in order to "de-allegorise" such texts so as to understand their true meaning.[55] As Nāṣir-i Khusraw explains in his Khwānu'l-Ikhwān, "...*ta'wīl* consists of nothing other than to take the final outcome of things back to its principal (or archetype);"[56] and as Abū Isḥāq elaborates, "This term [*ta'wīl*] means 'tracing everything to its origin' and the origin of everything is *ḥaqīqat*."[57]

The use of symbols that must be traced back to their origin is a frequent, if subtle, feature of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's compositions. We are fortunate that the Sat Veṇī Moṭī alludes to the *ta'wīl* of at least one account in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel in a parallel passage. On the surface, the narrative in the Vel appears to be a simple account of a miraculous incident in the life of Bībī Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of ʿAlī, examples of which abound in Shīʿī literature. The story begins with a moving description of the poverty and humble circumstances in which the pious daughter of the Prophet lived. Jealous detractors try to put her to shame by mocking her extreme indigence, but heavenly intervention preserves her honor and puts her adversaries to flight:

Bībī Fāṭimah lived a very ascetic life (*faqīrī*)
Conducting herself according to the practices of the True Way
She neither drank nor feasted in this world
But constantly sat in worship

She had scarcely any clothes to wear
And would cover herself with a robe of coarse wool

Even that was completely covered with patches
Which were sewn on with grass thread

There was only a water bag made of animal hide for her to sleep on
She used to labour tediously to grind flour

She would fill an earthen pot [with water] and keep it

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And used to drink from a cup fashioned of stone

She had a spinning wheel
[And used to spin cotton day and night]...[58]

In her hand would always be the rosary of a *darwīsh*
She was in constant remembrance of the Lord

Apart from this there was nothing in the house...

There were other women who were infidels (*kāfir*)
Whose hearts would burn (in jealousy) within themselves

They used to harbor enmity against Bībī Fāṭimah
Such were the erroneous hypocrites (*munāfiq*)

One day it was the time of the *ʿĪd* festival
So these women adorned themselves extensively

They wore their ornaments and came out in full dress and splendour
Their jewellery studded with countless jewels

Then they proceeded to the house of Fāṭimah
Where they seated themselves and formed an assembly (*majlis*)

To deliberately put Bībī Fāṭimah to shame
By using this intrigue to make her sit amongst them...

Bībī Fāṭimah burst into tears
After she had fled to her father's side
The Prophet was taken aback
And expressed a hope in his heart

Then an angel came there
Bearing much gold brocade and jewels

He brought with him heavenly embellishments
And splendid multi-coloured garments

How can I praise enough
That which the heavens bestowed?

Bībī Fāṭimah then adorned herself in this raiment
And the infidel (*kāfir*) women were mortified

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Many fled from there
But several joined the Sat Pañth

They venerated the Five Holy Ones (*panj tan*)
And conscientiously followed the Path of Truth[59]

It is very easy to appreciate the deep Shī'ī sentiments and emotional quality of the story without noting any deeper intention of the author. There are, however, subtle hints in the original which suggest further intimations of meaning. References to Fāṭimah's patched woolen frock are unmistakeably similar to descriptions of the Ṣūfī *khirqah* and her ascetic practices are equally noteworthy. The allusions to her spinning of cotton and grinding of flour are also important. Many Indian Ṣūfī poets wrote mystical *charkhī nāmahs*, spinning songs, in which the act of spinning was compared to the practice of *dhikr*, or remembrance of God.[60] Similarly, the *chakkī nāmahs* took inspiration from the grinding of grain to represent numerous mystical concepts.[61] Equally important is the comparison between Fāṭimah's heavenly embellishments as opposed to the earthly ornaments of her rivals. In a few enlightening lines from the Sat Veṇī Moṭī concerning Bībī Fāṭimah, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh alludes to the *ta'wīl* of this symbol:

Let the ornaments that you wear be deeds of Truth
Keep the abode of the Lord within your heart

Cleanse yourself with Verity
And adorn yourself with the ornaments of Truth
Let the mascara of your eyes be love
And make the Beloved the necklace around your neck...

Whoever styles her hair
And ornaments herself exceedingly
Whoever ornaments herself without the Beloved
Her ornaments will feel like burning coals...

Without the Beloved she who adorns herself completely
That maiden's entire life will pass in the agony of separation

If you adorn yourself within (your heart) then you will be accepted
Just as the Prophet (Muḥammad) himself was adorned

Whoever adorns herself with the ornaments of the heart
She will find her Divine Bridegroom[62]

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Thus, Fāṭimah's "heavenly embellishments" consisted of Love for the Divine Bridegroom and deeds of Truth. When she adorned herself with these qualities, the infidels (*kāfirs*) were put to shame in spite of their rich garments. According to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the true ornaments that embellish a human being do not consist of precious gems and silken apparel, but of faithfulness and worship which beautify the believer in the eyes of the Creator. Thus, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh asks the question, "How can I praise enough that [embellishment] which the heavens bestowed?" Seeing the heavenly piety and devotion that ornamented the Prophet's daughter, the women either fled or else repented and joined the Sat Pañth.

One of the great difficulties inherent in translating the Gināns is to capture the profound impact that they exercise on the psyche of believers. To the faithful Sat Pañthī, the Gināns are not simply examples of medieval Ismāʿīlī poetry but are "an unbounded and immeasurable sea of knowledge, a unique storehouse of wisdom and guidelines for everyday life."[63] They are the embodiment *par excellence* of the esoteric essence (*sār tattva*) of the Qur'ān[64] which "represent the knowledge of divine mysteries and secrets."[65] Each and every line, no matter how mundane its apparent meaning, is believed to conceal unfathomable spiritual wisdom. A.S. Asani has remarked that "Even those who may not fully understand the meanings and significance of the words they sing may experience an emotion difficult to describe but which sometimes physically manifests itself through moist eyes or tears."[66] Commenting on this phenomenon, one eminent researcher went so far as to assert that the "mystical appeal [of the Gināns] equals, if not exceeds, that exercised by the Coran on Arabic speaking peoples."[67] The Gināns themselves testify to this sentiment. Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn writes:

> Perpetually recite the Gināns, for they are filled with Divine Light (*nūr*)
> Your heart will be unable to contain such rapturous joy![68]

It is therefore not surprising that several writers have noted the difficulty inherent in translating these compositions. After giving his rendering of some verses from the Ginān **Tamakuñ sadhāre so din**, A.S. Asani of Harvard University was forced to note, "I feel I must apologise for failing to capture in translation the emotions aroused by these and subsequent verses from the ginans."[69] Likewise, W. Ivanow writes of the Gināns, "Nothing

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would probably be left of their magic force and fascination if they were translated, especially into a modern European language, just as nothing is left of the majestic beauty of the Coran in a translation."[70]

Despite these obstacles, the present author has attempted to give a rendering of the first forty-nine cantos of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Veṇī Moṭī, a composition that has been described as an "exquisite repository of mystical vision."[71] This Ginān, believed to be of "considerable poetic worth" by Misra, the well-known scholar of Gujarātī history and society,[72] is a remarkable testimony of the coalescence between Ṣūfī and Ismāʿīlī thought in the Subcontinent during the medieval period. In traditional style, the work begins by praising Allah and recognizing the Prophet, followed by an introduction to the Sat Pañth, the Path of Truth.

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Praise of God

First: laud the praises of the Creator
Never entertain a doubt when remembering the Name of God

By observing this advice your hapless wanderings shall cease
If you understand completely and absolutely

The second Truth is (the recognition) of the True Prophet
As were his actions, so was his promise

Declare your love for God with your tongue
If you become true then you shall run along the Path

One who recognises the entire world to be false
Is in assembly, together with his Lord

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

You will turn to Truth by the Truth
(As did those who) fought in the battlefield (of Truth)
The wicked did not attain the Lord
Those fools wander vainly about 1

Tribute to the Messenger of the Religion

Whoever recognizes the matters of Truth to be genuine
Will not admit anything else in his heart

All others gamble with the intrigues of innovation (*bid'ah*)
These ignorant ones cannot be suddenly awakened from the slumber of heedlessness (*ghaflah*)

Nine hundred years have passed since the Messenger was in the world
None of the truthful have forgotten the Path

Whoever has religion on his tongue but a stain in his heart
Has abandoned the Path upon which the Prophet tread

Without the Truth, how can the shore be reached?
Follow the one who reveals the Truth

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

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The True Road is that of the Prophet
And only this is the True Path
Whoever travelled without the Truth
Undertook a hapless journey 2

Tribute to the True Guide's Ginān

Prophet Muḥammad came to the world
Because of him the moonlit path has been found

He has shown you the path of purity
So you have discovered all the ways and practices of the Imām (*shāh*)[73]

None of the followers of the Path can be false
All the enlightened ones can see the Way

This Way has been revealed in full splendour in what follows
For those souls who immerse themselves in love

This composition has been named "The Tales of Truth"
In it you will find the residence of the Beloved

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The True Guide (*murshid-i ṣidq*) is ours
How often has this been declared?
He has come and openly shown to you
That Path which is composed entirely of Truth 3

Tribute to the Religion

The practice of the Faith (*dīn*) is like a sharp-edged sword
Without the truth how will you reach the shore?[74]

The arduous path is only found by a few
Whoever embraces it loses himself

All others are lost in false claims[75]
These blind ones are entrapped in the midst of venom

All those who are truly bound to love
Are admitted into the Faith

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The Path of Truth is a great test
So how can it tolerate false attachments?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The Sat Pañth is the only True Path
And true are those who tread upon it
Only when the head itself is lost on this journey
Will (the path) come within grasp 4

Sage Counsel

All the truthful ones know the Truth
It will be manifest in its own time

If you lust throughout the darkness of the night
Then how will you answer to God at dawn?

Tread upon the Path after purifying yourself
Then you will arrive for the sake of Truth alone

This Ginān is absolutely true
All that is hidden is manifested in the thought of God

Each and every evil act which you conceal
Will become manifest in its own place

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If all your evil acts are hidden
And you hide all your wickedness
When you go ahead you will discover
That truly all this will then be manifested 5

Thus the Merciful One is known as the Omniscient
All wickedness and treachery is manifest to Him

How can wickedness not be known to the One
Who knows all the secrets contained in the heart?

There shall be no obstruction in front of He
Who knows each and every element of your existence

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Oh foolish people, take heed!
Laughing joyously, get pleasure from your Lord

Purify yourself from the dirt within
So that you can go and give a clear answer to God

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Make your heart absolutely pure
So that your sins may be reduced to dust
Play while sitting in the moonlight
In love with your Lord 6

The following verses of the **Sat Veṇī Moṭī** typify the distinctive Ginānic understanding of the Qur'ānic notion of Divine Light (*nūr*), a concept which plays a central role in the belief system of the Ismā'īlīs. The Ismā'īlī Imām, as the embodiment of God's Creative Will (*amr*) and manifestation of His mysteries (*mazharu'l-ᶜajāib*), is the supreme repository of the Divine Light and is thus symbolized by the sun in the Gināns.[76] The Pīr is considered to be the Imām's proof (*ḥujjah*) and the perfect reflection of his light. He is therefore symbolized by the moon[77] and is portrayed as the sole source through which the adept may gain recognition (*shināKht*) of the Imām's essence, a doctrine that is in agreement with Persian Ismā'īlī sources of the same period and which dates back to at least the time of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 1276) and Pīr Shams (d. 1277).[78] The hearts of the initiates are, in turn, depicted as mirrors which, if purified, would reflect the moon-like light of the Pīr.[79]

The Ginānic parallelism with the symbolism utilized by Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī in his **Rawḍatu't-Taslīm** is remarkable:

> His [ie. the Imām's] *Ḥujjat* is the manifestation of the First Intellect, that is to say, the manifestation and power of the illumination of the First Intellect appears in him. His position has been likened to that of the moon, because just as the body of the moon is in itself dark and is illuminated by the sun, and in the absence of the sun takes its place[80] (*khalīfat-i ū bāshad*) and lights up the earth in proportion to its strength and the amount of light that it has obtained from the sun, so is the soul of the supreme *Ḥujjat*, which by itself knows nothing and is nothing, lit by the effusion of the illuminations of the Imam's assistance. When the Imam is concealed, he acts as his vicegerent. Through the power to accept the emanations of the lights of knowledge which he has obtained in proportion to his capacity, the *Ḥujjat* gives the

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people awareness of the Imam, may greetings be upon mention of him, and shows them the path to him.[81]

Similarly, the role of both the Pīr and the Shāh (Imām) is expounded by Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn who writes:

Recognize the Supreme Being, Lord of Light
Friends, know the Pīr to be the one
Who has led you to the recognition of the Lord of Twelve Splendours[82]

Worship none other than that very Lord, my brother,
Friend, never doubt in this
Hail the advent of the Lord, as glorious as the risen Sun![83]

This symbolism of Sun-Imām and Moon-Pīr should be borne in mind in understanding the following verses.

Adore the longing for the Beloved
In this way all wickedness will be reduced to dust

Because of the Prophet's love for his Lord
He became like the brilliant moonlight from head to foot[84]

It is then that he found the path of purity
Blissfully he entered within it

In whom even an iota of darkness remains
That much love is not given to him

Behold the shining brilliance of knowledge (*ʿilm*) with your eyes
And consider it to be the distinctive quality of the True *Ummah*[85]

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If you make the moonlight pure
Then after your journey you will reach the shore
The direction indicated by the moonlight is pure
The remaining directions are shrouded in dreadful darkness[86] 7

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The Illumination of the Heart

The fortnight of moonlight is a dazzling glory
But the fortnight of darkness is of no use

If there were to be moonlight for the whole month
All would sleep peacefully the whole night

Both the moon and the sun have distanced themselves from the one
To whom neither the internal moon nor sun shines[87]

If the internal filth is purified
Then the face of God would be seen manifest

Whoever expressed longing for the Friend
Found the Lord by the glorious light of the moon

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Both the moon and the sun are pure
Both of them are friends
They completely disregard a place
Where even an iota of darkness remains 8

The Ginān continues by expounding on the ephemeral nature of earthly existence, reminiscent of Qur'ān 55:26-27, "Everything on earth shall perish, save the Face of thy Lord which shall abide forever." This is a common theme in Islāmic mystical literature of all types but is especially prominent in the Gināns. As A. Esmail has noted:

> ...indeed, the closer you look at the ginans, you will find that alongside the sense of vigorous affirmation, and a feeling of power and energy, is an anguished concern with death, and an awareness of the contingency and transitoriness of human life on earth, of the constant threat of external evil and, more important, internal dissipation, which loom menacingly over the individual's destiny on the earth.[88]

This concern about the imminence of death and the futility of earthly existence is aptly expressed in the verses which follow.

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The Palace of the Perishable Body

Oh soul! Know the world to be a dark, shadowy place
Without the moonlight how will you find the shore?

Just as the night comes in the month of *Bhādarvo*[89]
When nothing can be discerned from hand to hand

How can the blind wayfarer find the narrow path
By incessantly engrossing his heart in sensual pleasures?[90]

Know this world to be like the banks of a river
Seeing it, be aware of its manifestation in front of you

Just as when a flash flood comes to the river
In a moment, everything subsides

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Just as the banks of a river
So is this world of earthly phenomena
That which comes, comes with great force
But does not take long to leave 9

The Perishable Body

Just as the shadow falls at noon
Nothing remains steady for even a moment

Why do you waste your life on this path
Which, like the shade of a tree, is constantly moving?

At first the tender buds appear exquisitely beautiful
But the day shall come when all of them will rustle and fall to the ground

Indeed, to whom will this not happen?
Just as the leaves have fallen from the *pīpal* tree

One wearies by continuously saying "mine, mine"
Yet all the blind ones are enmeshed in this

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

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Having seen the play of the tender buds
Never become forgetful
When the appointed day arrives
All of them will rustle and fall to the ground 10

You see this world of earthly phenomena fleeting away
So how can you have love for tomorrow?

Of those who have come to this world, not a single one remained
They were just like bubbles upon the water

First the friend, Adam, was created
He was seen when he came but none knew when he would leave

He was made king of the two worlds
Yet, in the end, even he was not allowed to stay

Whoever has come, he has gone as well
From amongst them I have not seen a single one who has tarried

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

In the house in which one cannot find permanent accommodation
Do not bind your heart for even a second
Just as a foreigner is but a guest
Who tarries and then moves on 11

As long as the field is verdant and flourishing
Why do you then not take heed immediately?

People and family are nothing but coarse millet[91]
Because of which the harvest of Truth is lost

When the Beloved's elixir takes effect
All false actions will be put to flight[92]

All this coarse millet will not remain even for a moment[93]
Yet you will bear so much pain and suffering for it

All who have come for the sake of pleasure[94]
Will have their dried up fields uprooted and destroyed

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Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

You must take heed
While the field is fertile
Know that everybody is like coarse millet:
People, family and relations[95] 12

In the verses which follow, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh expounds upon the Indian concept of *māyā*. In the Ṛg Veda this term is used in the sense of magical power; in the Upanishads in the sense of false knowledge; and in Shaṅkara's *advaita* philosophy as the transitory world which has no innate reality.[96] Our author portrays *māyā* as the attraction in man towards the bewitching illusion of the world which veils him from the Creator. In contrast to Kabīr, who describes *māyā* as a hideous and repulsive woman,[97] Nūr Muḥammad Shāh compares it to a lecherous harlot who appears to man as a dazzling mistress, tempting him to leave the path of religion and embrace her. In this sense, his concept of *māyā* bears considerable resemblance to the Qur'ānic concept of *an-nafsu'l-ammāra bi's-sū'*, the soul which incites to evil and against which the believer must wage "the greater Holy War," *al-jihādu'l-akbar*.[98] This comparison is particularly relevant in the context of the following verses of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh when we consider that in the Ṣūfī works composed in the Islāmic heartlands, the *nafs* (a feminine noun in ᶜArabic) has been portrayed as a defiant woman who attempts to cheat and entice the poor wayfarer.[99]

The Wiles of Illusion (māyā)

Whoever says "mine, mine"
Has taken a set of gambling cards in his hand

Uncountable sins will accumulate
What is the use of taking (this gamble) in vain?

All the falsehood which may come
Is brought along by an arrogant harlot

In the next world you shall be given your bread
So why do you wish to carry sins with you in vain?

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You will achieve nothing from all the tastes (of the world)
But your stomach will continue to be filled with sins[100]

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Whoever declares: "this is mine, this is mine"
All of his deeds are false
For the sake of the two days (in which you live in this world)
Life's bundle is filled with sins 13

Whoever dedicated his life to this deceiving harlot
Achieved nothing from all of her intrigues

Whoever covets this harlot
Know that he is truly ignorant

This wealth of yours belongs to nobody
Because of greed (for the sake of interest) you will lose your capital[101]

This mistress is none other than the treacherous world
She may be old but she is infinitely attractive

The wise will derive a lesson from her
They recognize this deceitful mistress to be false

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The deceptive harlot is a fraud
Brother, she is false for all eternity
If you embrace all the dealings of this world
You will find yourself empty handed 14

Never trust this fraud
Who causes the wayfarer to lose his way

Everyone is bewitched by this harlot
They try to embrace her and make her their own

This woman is utterly enchanting
She has even deceived the great and mighty ones

Whoever forsakes her is truly a valiant knight

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Who has traversed the perilous mountain pass

No one should trust this deceptive harlot
For she is the wife of nobody!

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Just as is the colour of the butterfly
So is this world of earthly phenomena
It's brilliant red and saffron hues
Will not take long to vanish[102] 15

She has subjugated even the great and mighty ones
Those who were deceived are witless fools

Those who have seen her with open eyes
Have all left shaking their heads

The wise ones have known her to be thus
Because water will not remain in an unbaked pot

They will travel on the path with determination in their hearts
While the fools entangle themselves

If you explore within she is completely false
But if you look at her manifestation, her wiles are overwhelming

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

This is the base, sensual pleasure of the harlot
Which is recognized only by the elect
Those bewildered ones who lusted after her
Lost their reason and intellect 16

The whole world is taken up by her wiles
They have lost much to make her their own

Whoever stains his heart with greed
Will be removed from religion and declared mad

Do you not even realize that if you take poison, though it be sweetened with sugar
You will be in unbearable anguish?

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He is the Wicked One but makes a pretence of being a friend
None can fathom the mystery of his propensity for evil pursuits

Whoever catches hold of his sleeve
That poor fool has been deceived

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The wiles of this harlot are extensive
She has deceived the entire world
She is a manifest thief
Who will ravage the path of religion 17

Whoever searches for and knows her
Has desired her without properly looking

Whoever proceeds with caution
Does not fall under her control

The gallant knights were valiant warriors
They traversed the perilous mountain pass

Whoever is single minded in determination and travels upon the Way
Will blissfully arrive at the shore

Whoever puts a foot in each of two boats
How can such a traveller of the Path be rescued?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

This deceitful mistress is not loyal
Certainly, she is not loyal at all
The double-minded fools are deceived by her
She has destroyed so many virtuous men 18

Many difficulties came to pass
Upon all the prophets whom God created

Behold the messengers who have come to the world
In their true love they were never forgetful

Know that Pharaoh was a fraud in the world

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Seeing his (powerful) form people worshipped him

Whatever they had was given to them by Pharaoh
And they exulted in these things

How could those who were in union with God
Ever exult in this maiden?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

This maiden is unlucky
Whether you are a beggar or a king, do not lust after her
Open your eyes and look at her
She is filled with excrement from head to foot 19

The world is the wine of Satan
Which drives all wisdom from the heart

If you quaff the wine of Satan
You will quarrel with religion

You repent for drinking the exoteric (*zāhir*) wine
Yet you keep the wine of Satan close to your heart

You have entered among the untouchables
And have thus imputed yourself

Whoever is in union with God
Will not be intoxicated by the wine of Satan

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If you drink the wine of Satan
While showing to the world that you are pure
One day you will know that you were proceeding while intoxicated
And your body will testify to this on that day[103] 20

Consider this perishable world (*fānī dunyā*) to be the Evil One
None of the friends accept him in their hearts

All the truthful ones have forsaken him
For within themselves they have adoration for the Lord

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All the other unfortunate ones who dedicated their lives to the Evil One
Could not fathom the mystery

There are two paths established in the world
Whichever of the two you search for is the one you will find[104]

Know this to be the test of the world
Friends, to know the traits of the Evil One

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Having arrived in this world
And recognizing your Friend
Behold who with whom
Has fallen madly in love 21

The Evil One gave Pharaoh[105] his position
And gave him control over countless countries

In his greed that fool became heedless
And was kept among the confederacy of the Evil One

Whoever considered the worship of God to be false
Did not have the words of the Lord in his mouth

Not an iota of pain and suffering was given to such people
Who did not long for the Friend of my heart

They were in love with the Evil One
And desired to assault the Friend

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Those supported by the Evil One will be granted delights
Not an iota of pain shall be incurred by them
The friends will be ravaged and devastated
They will be outcast from the community (of evil ones) 22

Those who claim to be saints (*walī*) and sages (*mashāikh*)
Live only for coins of copper and brass

Know them to be the true infidels (*kāfir*)

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Understand them to be the forms of Satan

They do the work of Pharaoh
Yet assume the names of saint (*walī*) and sage (*mashāikh*)

They attest to God and the messenger with their tongues
But keep Satan in their hearts

If the Lord could be attained by such actions
Then why was poverty (*faqīrī*) given to the Prophets?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

In the world they call themselves saints (*walī*) and sages (*mashāikh*)
Yet their minds are engrossed with the world
Know that they are truly thieves
Never call them your friends[106] 23

Annemarie Schimmel has commented that "[t]he central attitude in Sufi life is that of *faqr*, 'poverty.'"[107] This outlook is certainly apparent in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Veṇī Moṭī. In Ṣūfī literature, *faqr*, signifying the neediness and impoverishment of the believer, is contrasted with *ghinā*, which suggests the self sufficiency and independence of the Creator. God stands completely independent of his creation whereas the creation is utterly in need of Him. As the Qur'ān proclaims, "Oh Mankind! You are poor in relation to God; and God is the Rich, the Self-Sufficient."[108] The prophetic *ḥadīth*, *faqrī fakhrī* - my poverty is my pride,[109] became the hallmark of mystical practice so much so that *al-faqru'l-muḥammadī* - Muḥammadan Poverty has become one of the most common epithets for Ṣūfism in Islām. The Sat Veṇī Moṭī, like many non-Ismā'īlī works on the subject, portrays the prophets and certain saints as the exemplars of poverty. Nevertheless, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's understanding of the term *faqīrī* has a number of exceptional traits, the most significant of which is the concept of suffering. *Faqīrī* is not simply a state of indigence and penury, it is a process involving numerous trials and tribulations in whose flame faith is ripened.[110] Just as gold must pass through the agony of flame and forge in order to be purified, so must the human soul endure all the privations of the Path to meet with the Beloved. This recalls the mystical interpretation of *sūrah* 7:171 of the Qur'ān in which God asks the hitherto uncreated descendants of Adam "Am I not your Lord?" (*alastu bi rabbikum*) to which they reply "Yes,

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we witness it" (*balā shahidnā*). But *balā* also means affliction, and thus mankind had accepted in pre-eternity both God's sovereignty and His will to bless those whom he specially loves with adversity. Therefore, according to the prophetic tradition oft mentioned in Ṣūfī sources, "The most afflicted people are the prophets, then the saints and then the others."[111]

While *faqīrī* may involve the forsaking of all material wealth, this is not its essential characteristic. To Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, true *faqīrī* is not subsisting on the alms of others; it is an attitude, an outlook on life whose fundamental characteristic is a feeling of detachment from both this world and the next - "the true *faqīrī* is of Truth, for those who beg for nothing except to be in the presence of the Lord."[112] Thus, even King Solomon with all his riches was a *faqīr* because "on the outside he ran a praiseworthy kingdom, but hidden within he was a *darwīsh*."[113] Contrast this to Farīdu'd-Dīn ʿAṭṭār's Manṭiqu'ṭ-Ṭayr in which we read:

> Although Solomon became a great king because of his seal, it was this that delayed his progress on the spiritual path; and he came to the Paradise of Eden five hundred years later than the other prophets.[114]

On the other hand, the possession of a single needle by Jesus halts his spiritual progress at the fourth heaven. While the early ascetics regarded Jesus as the model of poverty, the later mystics believed that because of this needle his *faqr* was incomplete.[115] But in view of the aforementioned regard for King Solomon, it appears that for Nūr Muḥammad Shāh it was not the simple *possession* of the needle which was questionable, but the *attachment* to that needle.

The term *faqīrī* is an extremely difficult term to translate into English.[116] "Poverty" seems inadequate because it does not convey the religious implications of the word and "spiritual poverty" seems even more incorrect because it may be taken to imply a deficiency in spiritual matters. Given the difficulty of translating this term into English, the word "poverty," admittedly deficient, has been adopted.

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The Test of Remembrance (Dhikr)

The world is the path of the Evil One
The prophets came only for the sake of poverty[117]

Whoever burned in the fire of poverty
Became like a prophet (*nabi*) in this world

If the body can be considered to be an earthen vessel
Then without shattering (this vessel) how can the Lord be achieved?[118]

Whoever longs for his Cherisher
Yearns for poverty and remembrance

This is said to be the path of the body
So without shattering (this bodily vessel) how can the Lord be obtained?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Poverty is more noble (*afḍali*) than anything
There is nothing which can compare with it
The best counsel is that of the Lord
If you come and meet with the Divine Bridegroom[119] 24

The Excellence of Poverty

If you devote your life to poverty
Then you will find a greater love for God

Know that this is the duty of the friends
The prophet achieved the *mi'rāj* (heavenly ascension) because of poverty[120]

This is the wealth of the prophets
There is no kingship greater than this[121]

Whoever's actions are precious
That wealth will come into his hands

All the prophets begged for this longing
And thus caught hold of the True Guide (*murshid*)[122]

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

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The greatest kingship on earth
Was sent for the sake of the friends
Verily, none will be able to find it
Without a divinely sent prophet (*nabī mursal*) 25

Whoever adopts poverty today
Will achieve all that he desires

You are a guest of God here in this world
Remain with affection for your Lord

What work is more virtuous than that
Which will earn you a place at His threshold?

Do not extend your hand to ask for anything
Only then will desire and avarice (*hawā ḥirs*) be forgotten[123]

Live in that kind of poverty
Which is known as the poverty of kings

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The true poverty is of Truth
For those who beg for nothing except to be in the presence of the Lord
They remain at His threshold with truth and patience
Casting away all other desires 26

Go into the presence of the Beloved and beseech Him
But be patient in this (entreaty)

Nothing can be achieved by ease and heedlessness
So continuously remember the Name of the Lord

Know the poverty of the Lord to be exalted
The poverty of kings is true knowledge of the Beloved

If worship is done out of worldly desires
Then how will everyone attain all the fruits?

In the worship of the Beloved attach yourself only to the Beloved
Extend your hand but ask for nothing

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Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If you long for the Beloved
Then do not ask for any of your desires to be fulfilled
If you attain your Beloved
Then you will obtain everything 27

Such is the tale of all the prophets
They knew the poverty of kings to be pure

All of them observed the poverty of the Beloved
Each of their trials is more praiseworthy than the next

Peruse the tales of the prophets
The fire of poverty is to be seen in all of them

In its flames their faith was ripened
This brought even greater adoration for God

Whoever longs to achieve union
Will make poverty dear to himself

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Amongst the friends is the Friend
Amongst the essences is the Essence
If you meet Him in poverty
You will swim across to the shore 28

The Poverty of Adam - the Intercessor with God

First Adam the Friend was created
All (the angels) bowed their heads before him

He was given a dwelling in Paradise
Which was in the presence of his Lord

But he was not given any happiness in Paradise
Again and again he was drenched in the fire of love

For how many years was he thrown in the jungle
Tears of blood streaming from his eyes?[124]

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Only when he was cast into such poverty
Was the prophethood finally granted to him[125]

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

First there was Adam, the Friend
Look at the state which befell him
Bewildered, he was thrown in the jungle
Then he met together with the Lord 29

The Poverty of Prophet Noah

Oh People, behold the situation of Prophet Noah
His life passed in union with his Lord

In the shadow of the bamboo curtain he lost his entire life
For nine-hundred years he burned his "self"

If things were to be easy in this world
Then no one would have lost his "self" in poverty

No one would bear even an iota of this
So why did (Noah) remain in the jungle for nine-hundred years?

In whomever love played its game
A meeting with God was granted

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

What kind of refuge
Was available to the lovers in the past?
Suffering pain and anguish
They believed their bodies to be no more than the worthless part
of corn that is cast away when the kernel is harvested 30

The Poverty of Prophet Moses

Behold the situation of Moses, the beloved of God
He also accepted all of his suffering

He perceived love in his destitution
Within himself he was in deep contemplation (*fikr*)

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Still he did not long for the world
In this way he found the Lord

You will only find love of the Lord
If you burn yourself in the fire of poverty

If the Lord could be obtained by worldly affairs
Then why did the prophets adopt poverty?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

This is known as the poverty of married bliss
In which all desires are put to flame
Even if the world gives you its solemn oath
It will be of absolutely no value 31

The Poverty of Prophet Jesus

Harken to the anguish of the prophet Jesus
Hearing it, why do you long for this worthless world?

What can be said of a single needle?
Yet, because of that he was detained at the fourth heaven

If the weight of one needle is such
Then why do you go and waste your life in luxury?

There is none as luminous like the moon as Jesus
Yet because of one needle where was he trapped?

How much wealth and how many riches (have you amassed)?
Behold what can happen for the sake of a single needle!

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Having seen the wiles of the world
Whoever craves for them (should consider that)
For the sake of a single needle
Where the Friend placed (Jesus) 32

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The Poverty of Prophet Solomon

Solomon's love is known to be true
Within his heart he kept it hidden

On the outside he ran a praiseworthy kingdom
But hidden within he was a *darwīsh*

He who used to eat unleavened bread made of barley
Was finally given the opportunity to meet with God

Had he dedicated his life to worldly pursuits
Then how would he have obtained the prophethood?

Blissfully he attained the true Joy
He was in union with His Lord

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Poverty (*gharībi*)[126] is the trade of the Lord
If you barter in it you will go blissfully
Having given up the pursuits of the world
Keep the flame of contemplation (*fikr*) burning 33

The Poverty of Love

Those who are filled with adoration are in a state of married bliss
Their consciousness is vigilant as they engage in worship (*bandagi*)

In a year they do not go outside for a single day
They bring the worries (*fikr*) of the people upon themselves

They were afflicted (*khuwārī*) and mixed with the dust
By doing so they lit the fire of love

The Evil One will keep all in luxury
But it is those who suffer who are loved by God

The people of the world are not in union with God
Prophethood is married bliss with the Lord

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

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The world itself is the Evil One
It is of no use to the friends
It can deceive you in a moment
And keep you far from the Lord 34

The Poverty of Prophet Zachariah

A saw was put to the head of Zachariah[127]
All of this was nothing but the custom of poverty

When the saw was thrust against his head
In his true love he did not turn his face

Had he started arguing and complaining as the saw came down
Then how would he have become a prophet?

Such was done to the friends
Blissfully sitting how can the Lord be obtained?

In a second he was split from the head
Then he obtained the diamond of God

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Having undergone such a trial
His love was tested
A saw was put to his head
And yet he did not forsake (his love) 35

The Poverty of Ibrāhīm b. Adham

Behold the drama of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm[128]
How he mixed himself with the dust

He ruled as king for many years
How much suffering he had to undergo

He did not pay heed to thirst or hunger
Thus igniting the fire of love within himself

He abandoned all pleasure and burned himself in sorrow
This is the food of the true friends

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Undergo the trial of the friends
Don't give an iota of pleasure to your body

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

In whomever was adoration for the Beloved
He walked the path of Truth till today
He burned himself openly in the world
And in so doing achieved his goal 36

His (Ibrāhīm b. Adham's) wealth found a place
Because he kept his word with his Beloved

Undergo such a trial of God
Forsake the world and accept poverty

Behold the wiles of the deceiving mistress
Beware of such a situation

If the Companion was not to be found in poverty
Then the prophets would not have longed for it

The Messenger (Muḥammad) spoke of deep contemplation (*fikr*)
He also met with the Beloved

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Poverty is the most noble of all
Know that you should see it and adopt it
In this lies the prophethood
Among all people (the prophets) are venerated 37

The Poverty of Prophet Muḥammad

At dawn he would return to his house
He didn't even have enough to feed himself

For the sake of a maund of barley
He would go to the door of a Jew

Seeing his poverty (the Jew) would ask him
You have neither field nor garden so how will you buy (the barley)?

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He was the king of the two worlds
But he was turned away by a Jew for a maund of barley

The friends surmounted such trials
Which were the flavor of their faith

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

If you make Truth your friend
And give up the worries of the world
Cast everything else far away
And manifest the blazing fire of love 38

The Poverty of Prophet Job

Friends, behold the situation of Prophet Job
Ants continuously feasted upon his body

His body became like a sieve
Yet he did not forsake his love

As the ants would come out and leave (his body)
He would lovingly take them and put them back in his body

In this (agony) he was thankful to God
And kept truth and patience in his heart

He underwent all these calamities
And yet he continued to adore the Beloved

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Job was the friend of Truth
And he was true in his adoration
He did not turn his head
Even while his entire body was punctured 39

The Poverty of Prophet Abraham

Harken to the tale of Prophet Abraham
Nimrod cast him into the midst of the fire

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He saw himself in a dream
In his vision the Lord came to him

He was to take his son and sacrifice him
It is only then that he would be given a meeting with the Lord

Abraham was true at heart
He took his son for sacrifice

He came for the love of the dream
The Lord would not be achieved from other affections

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Poverty is more excellent (*khūb*) than everything
Affliction is seen manifest
Reputation in this world is only exoteric (*ẓāhirī*)
It is absolutely worthless in religion 40

In the Ṣūfism of Ibnu'l-ᶜArabī and his school, the relationship between the lover and the Beloved is portrayed as man's love for a beautiful maiden; in Persian poetry, the relationship is expressed in metaphors of love between a man and a handsome young *shāhid*; but in the Indian mystical tradition it is the female-soul who is the seeker,[129] for it is believed that only the woman can truly experience love, *prem*, that pure devotion "which burns her without hope of satisfaction."[130] As A. Schimmel has noted, "In no [other] part of the Islamic world has the soul been so completely identified with women."[131] Medieval folk tales such as those of Ḍholā and Mārū, Lorak and Chāñdā, Hīr and Ranjhā and Sassui and Punhun were mystically interpreted as romantic allegories of love in which the woman-soul, after much suffering, was ultimately reunited with her Lord.

While making frequent use of the woman-soul allegory, the Ismāᶜīlī Gināns do not generally employ these medieval folk tales. More often, the composer of the Ginān portrays him or herself (or, more correctly, his or her narrative *persona*) as a longing female, humble maidservant (*dāsi*) or expectant bride, pleading for reunion with the Beloved, the Imām.[132] Thus, the tragic heroine represents "the human soul in search of the beloved, a beloved to whom she can be united only by endless suffering and eventually through death on the

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Path."[133] The ineffability of the mystical experience forced the mystics to draw upon the most intimate of human relationships and the most profound of human feelings to symbolise the relationship between the human soul and the Divine. The imagery of human love in an Indian marriage with its inherent implications of devotion, duty, obedience, expectation and perpetuity was an apt metaphor to convey spiritual states. The medium of phenomenal love (*ʿishqu'l-majāzī*) was thereby used to convey love for the Divine (*ʿishqu'l-ḥaqīqī*). The earth-bound wife-soul suffers the agony of *viraha*, the tormented state of separation from her Beloved. She experiences unbearable anguish in *duhāg*, the nerve racking period of intense expectation after betrothal, and anxiously awaits the arrival of her husband-to-be who will change the agony of *duhāg* into the rapturous joy of *suhāg*, married bliss. A stirring example of this imagery is to be found in the Ginān Ādam ād niriñjan by Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn:

Age upon age I have been waiting expectantly
But the wedding (*nikaḥ*) has not taken place
Now I am in the full bloom of youth
Oh the Ruler of the three universes, preserve my honour

Lord, cover me with a veil
For I am sinful[134]
I am humble and helpless
Oh Ruler, my honour depends on you

Oh Lord, how long can I stay alone
The days pass in the agony of separation (*duhāg*)
Transform this agony of separation (*duhāg*) into the bliss of marriage (*suhāg*)
Lord of the fourteen worlds, preserve my honor

Mother, father, sister and brother
None of them will keep me
I have come and thrown myself at Your mercy
Oh King, my honor is in your hands

Lord, my parents gave birth to me
I was then entrusted to your mercy
Now respect the honor of having extended to me your hand in marriage
Oh Saviour, save me!

I am fatigued from having walked and walked
Oh my Lord, I can continue no longer
My Lord, do not look at my sins
My Lord, I can not bear it any more

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Just as a fish without water writhes in agony
So also a wife without her husband
Lord, bring the necessities for marriage
Do not take long (to come)

Lord, most humbly I entreat you
Listen to my cries
For the sake of my humility forgive me
Lord, you are the protector of the unprotected

Lord, sobbing and faltering I petition you
In my heart I am tormented by separation
Lord, come soon
For the bloom of my youth shall soon fade away[135]

The concluding verses of this portion of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī dwell on similar bridal mysticism. They are introduced by a depiction of Bībī Fāṭimah as the perfect wife, the embodiment of every soul's yearning to become united with the Imām. In the interpretation of certain Gināns, Bībī Fāṭimah is regarded as *Vishav Kuñvārī*, the Maiden Universe who, in Sat Pañth belief, will be reunited with her Lord at the end of time.

The Poverty of Bībī Fāṭimah

If there is any Lady it is Fāṭimah
She lived in this world as if she was a foreigner

She longed for the house of ʿAlī
Yet did not incline towards the spinning wheel

Then the Messenger told her
Why don't you take the spinning wheel in your hand

You will get sustenance from the hand of your Lord
Why don't you dedicate your life to this spinning wheel?

Muḥammad was true at heart
And such was the wisdom he gave to his daughter

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

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Friendship is a (game of) tribulation
Which many cannot play
Only the exalted ones (*sarfarāz*) whom the Sustainer has created
Were given a meeting (with Him) 41

The next day Fāṭimah walked home
She saw her poverty-stricken state

Without faith she would have seen nought but loss
Then she put an old blanket upon her head

Because they found the world to be flawed
The friends abandoned the world

This is how they met with God
Then they went and played the game of love

She is in the state of married bliss who is permeated by the Beloved
Burning herself in the blazing fire she is intoxicated by love

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Those who thirst for love are the elect
They play the game of love
The Prophet showed the way of deep meditation (*fikr*)
For the sake of making us united with the Lord 42

The Perfect Wife

Such a true lady is needed
Who gives up all pleasures to attain the Divine Bridegroom

No enchantment remains in bewitching ornaments
Without the Lord she would give up her life

If you show off the ornaments you are wearing to the people
Then how will you attain the blissful married state?

Let the ornaments which you wear be deeds of Truth
Keep the abode of the Lord within your heart

Consider your divine wedding to have been confirmed

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Only when you see the Lord with your own eyes

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Cleanse yourself with Verity
And adorn yourself with the ornaments of Truth
Let the mascara of your eyes be Love
And make the Beloved the necklace around your neck 43

The Code of Married Bliss

The absolute state of married bliss is for (the bride)
Who brings adoration for the Lord within herself

With his eyes silhouetted with lampblack, flowers and a *tañbol*[136] in His mouth
Joyfully laughing the Divine Bridegroom will appear

His hair will be perfumed with flower-scented oil
Throw your arms around the neck of such a darling Beloved

Whoever ornaments herself without the Beloved
The throat of such a person will be scorched with red-hot coals

How can she who shows off her worldly ornaments to the people
Obtain the Divine Marriage with the Lord?

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Whoever styles her hair
And ornaments herself exceedingly
Whoever ornaments herself without the Beloved
Her ornaments will feel like burning coals 44

The Behaviour of Married Bliss

Without the Divine Husband nothing can be done
Those who are married in the world are but fools[137]

She who adorns herself completely without the Beloved
That maiden's entire life will pass in the agony of separation

If you adorn yourself within (your heart) then you will be accepted

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Just as the Messenger (Muḥammad) himself was adorned

Whoever adorns herself with the ornaments of the heart
She will find her Divine Bridegroom

Whoever burns her "self" in the flame of love for the Beloved
She will taste the sweetness of married bliss

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The manifest marriage took place
For the sake of the Divine Bridegroom
If you adorn yourself without the Beloved
Then your honour will be disgraced 45

Rābiʿah's State of Married Bliss

Rābiʿah achieved married bliss in the world
She is known in countries far and wide[138]

Within herself she burned in the fire of love
She could never be happy without her Lord

Neither food nor drink appealed to her
She forgot everything in the love for the Beloved

She ran from house to house in the thirst of love
Losing all consciousness of the world

Thus within she was reduced to dust
Then she was coloured with the adoration of the Beloved

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

Whoever burns herself in the thirst of love
And does not even flinch
She will be openly in married bliss
And experience the pleasure of being coloured with the colour of her Lord 46

The Married Bliss of Henna

Henna only obtains its colour

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If it is crushed between two stones

The more suffering it undergoes, the more it experiences the bliss of marriage
Then only can it touch the feet of the Divine Bridegroom[139]

Otherwise it is nothing but green leaves
Only if it is crushed will the colour be manifested

If it lost its life without being crushed
Then from where would it obtain even a drop of colour?

Such is the condition of your very own existence
If you crush your "self" then the colour will appear[140]

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

In henna there is a colour
This is known to the entire world
If it crushes itself between the stones
Only then will it touch the feet of the Divine Bridegroom 47

The Code of Love

If following the religion was to be easy
Then none would have lost himself in suffering

Lose your life in suffering
So that you may be strengthened in the religion of love

Whoever burns his "self" in the fire of contemplation (*fikr*)
Is to be called a true man of faith (*dīndārī*)

Whoever abandoned all sensual enjoyment
And concentrated his heart and mind on the desire for the Beloved

He arrived at the threshold of the King
Such were the people who had love for the Beloved

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

The fire is manifest only in the one
In whom adoration is the end
She is truly aflame in the world

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Whose actions are true 48

The Code of She Who is in the Agony of Separation

She whose heart is pierced by God
Finds that the flames of love continuously engulf her heart

Every second they rise, burning her being
Within her heart, adoration for the Beloved surges upward

As the flames of love burn in the breast of the meditating bride
The maddening crimson of love increases

Her entire being is burned in the raging blaze
In place of wood, her heart is ignited

Do not let an atom be spared from the fire of meditation on the Divine Beloved
Only then can your raw being be cooked

Oh You, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than You!

You have been sent into the world
For the sake of burning your being
Oh delirious lover, how can you burn
Without igniting the flames (of love)? 49

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Chapter 5
Conclusion

Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh has related this tale
The volume of the Account of Truth has been completed

Whoever, male or female, shall heed its admonitions
Will cease haplessly wandering through the world of earthly phenomena

Its secret is so profound
That only the elect can fathom its mystery

Every path has been expounded upon
For I have written everything about them in this work

Only the intellectual (ʿaqlmand) will comprehend its mystery
Just as only the jeweller will recognize the value of a diamond

Oh you, my Beloved, the True Master is none other than you!

How can the ignorant understand
That this Account of Truth is like a precious gem?
Only the elect shall recognize it
Very few will fathom its value[1]

The Encyclopædia of Islam, that staid sourcebook for all researchers in Islāmic Studies, asserts that the Sat Pañth Ginān literature "is beautiful and touching, and fully deserves study and publication."[2] This esoteric corpus of literature, shrouded for centuries in the memories and manuscripts of a highly persecuted minority community, is finally beginning to yield up its treasures to the investigation of modern scholarship. In studying the life and works of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, the last of the great Ginān composers, the present dissertation attempts to shed some light on the fascinating expression of Islāmic piety known as Sat Pañth.

As a member of the Sat Pañth daʿwah, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh belonged to the most vigorous and dynamic branch of the Ismāʿīlī movement of his time. Thus, he continued the legacy of

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such revered Ismāʿīlī dāʿīs and ḥujjahs as Pīr Shams, Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn and his father, Imām Shāh. The impact of this daʿwah was felt throughout the Ismāʿīlī world and penetrated deeply into the region of its activity, a region in which it had a long and colourful history dating back to at least the ninth century when Abu'l-Qāsim b. Ḥawshab "Manṣūru'l-Yaman" sent his nephew al-Haytham to Sindh in order to propagate on behalf of the daʿwah. After intense propagation, Multān was conquered in 977 and, together with several adjacent areas, was ruled over with varying fortunes as a vassal state of the Fāṭimid Empire for over a century except for a period after 1010 when Maḥmūd of Ghaznā (d. 1030) invaded the area and almost destroyed the movement.

As Kassam has suggested, it was probably amidst the chaos surrounding the succession to Imām al-Mustanṣir in 1094 and the increased strife caused by the Ghaznawids' vicious massacres of Ismāʿīlīs that the daʿwah began to express itself in its Sat Pañth form. While the Ismāʿīlī movement had benefitted significantly under the patronage of the Ghūrid Sulṭān Alāu'd-Dīn (d. *circa* 1160) who encouraged its proselytization activities, it suffered a major setback under the rule of his successors who mercilessly exterminated the Iṣmāʿīlīs wherever they found them. Despite this persecution, evidence in early sources such as the Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī suggests an organized and politically active Ismāʿīlī community spread across many diverse areas of northern and western India which had the intention on at least two occasions of capturing power in the Subcontinent.[3] Considering the lofty aspirations of the Nizārī daʿwah in general, it is not improbable that the uprisings were coordinated directly from Alamūt.

The conquest of the Ismāʿīlī centre in Daylam by the Mongols in 1256, however, must have crushed any aspirations of the Sat Pañth branch of the daʿwah for political supremacy in India. Nevertheless, Ismāʿīlism continued to spread clandestinely under the direction of the capable Ismāʿīlī ḥujjahs, Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn and Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn, a fact attested to in both Ismāʿīlī and non-Ismāʿīlī sources.

After the death of Pīr Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn, the daʿwah was engulfed in turmoil. The ranks of the dāʿīs were split as many converted to Sunnī Islām. Religious dues destined for Persia were absconded and it is plausible that matters were further complicated by the aggressive

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spread of Muḥammad Shāhī Ismāʿīlism into the Subcontinent. In the midst of these misfortunes the head of the Sat Pañth daʿwah, Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn, died in mysterious circumstances. Imām Shāh, who had hitherto remained aloof from these activities, was summoned from Uchchh by Imām Abū Dharr ʿAlī. After this meeting he vacated Uchchh, established his residence in Aḥmadābād, and recommenced preaching. The course of events suggests that he was explicitly commissioned by the Imām to bolster the daʿwah in Gujarāt in the face of unrest in Sindh. He was apparently quite successful in his endeavours and even succeeded in securing the support of Maḥmūd Begaḍā, the most illustrious of Gujarāt's Sulṭāns. It is abundantly clear from his works and from the accounts preserved in both Imām Shāhī and Ismāʿīlī milieus that Imām Shāh did not forsake his allegience to the Imām. In fact, he himself indicates quite clearly that he continued to dispatch the religious dues destined for Persia.

While a number of scholars have argued that Sayyid Imām Shāh's son, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, forsook his allegience to the Imām and claimed the Imāmah for himself, this thesis contends that he remained faithful throughout his life and, in fact, played an important part in preserving the daʿwah during a period of immense strife. Four main arguments have been forwarded to support theories of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's defection. These include his quarrel with a certain Ismāʿīlī religious functionary, alleged allusions to the split in the **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī**, conjectures that he professed descent from the Ismāʿīlī Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad and supposed claims to the Imāmah in his Gināns.

Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh's Manāzil preserves the narrative of an incident in which Nūr Muḥammad Shāh demanded that a certain religious official by the name of Mukhī Khetā deliver the religious dues to him in Aḥmadābād rather than forwarding them to Sindh, something that the *mukhī* was unwilling to do. Both Ivanow and Nanji have taken this as an indication that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claimed the Imāmah for himself. However, a simple redirection of funds cannot support this conclusion, especially when we consider the motives for such an action. It is incumbent to keep in mind that the daʿwah in Sindh was suffering from immense internal dissent during this period. Such a situation may have rendered unwise the traditional forwarding of funds to that region, thus prompting a reorganization of the Ismāʿīlī movement in India with its new centre in Gujarāt. Furthermore,

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there is absolutely no indication in the Manāzil that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh absconded the funds. On the contrary, explicit references in this Persian work confirm the he was in the practice of forwarding religious dues to the Nizārī headquarters in Īrān. In view of these considerations, it is baseless to assume that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's quarrel with Mukhī Khetā proves that he claimed the Imāmah.

Suggestions to the effect that the Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī of Imām Mustanṣirbi'l-lāh contains allusions to the Imām Shāhī schism or even that it represents the immediate reaction from Īrān to the secession of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh are equally unfounded. In fact, while the Pandiyāt explicitly refers to and attacks numerous competing sects such as the Ithnā ᶜAsharīs and the Mustaᶜliyyah, the schism supposedly initiated by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh is not even mentioned in the text. This argument can therefore be dismissed.

Some scholars have asserted that the manuscript version of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel contains a canto in which Nūr Muḥammad Shāh claims that the Ismāᶜīlī Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh was the same person as his ancestor, Pīr Shams, the Ismāᶜīlī ḥujjah. However, close inspection of the cited passage reveals nothing even remotely resembling this description. Even *assuming* that such a passage existed, it would be of highly questionable value to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's supposed claims. He was already widely recognized in both Ismāᶜīlī and non-Ismāᶜīlī circles as a descendant of Imām Jaᶜfaru'ṣ-Ṣādiq and therefore a further claim of descent from Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad would be redundant. Furthermore, Imām Shāh, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's father, states quite explicitly that his ancestor, Pīr Shams, was the son of Pīr Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn and not of Imām Ruknu'd-Dīn Khurshāh, a fact maintained by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in his Sat Varaṇī Moṭī. The details of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's ancestry were far too well known in both Ismāᶜīlī and non-Ismāᶜīlī circles for him to forge a genealogy linking him to Imām Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad, not to mention that such a forged genealogy, if it really existed, would be of questionable value in any claim to the Imāmah.

From the many thousands of verses in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's extant works, only two references have ever been advanced with the suggestion that they may be interpreted as a claim to the Imāmah. This paltry number is, in itself, indicative of the unlikeliness of such

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a claim. The most distinctive and vital religious concept among the Shīʿah is that of the Imāmah. A claim to this position would thus require immense historical and doctrinal support and would therefore have occupied a major portion of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's writings. This was clearly not the case. Even the few citings that have been made by earlier scholars to support theories of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's alleged deviation do not withstand scrutiny. The single reference in canto 301 of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī cannot be used to substantiate arguments for Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's secession and claims to the Imāmah. The context of the verse makes it abundantly clear that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh considered his father to be a simple servant of the Imām and hardly the Imām himself. In interpreting this canto, confusion among scholars about Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's use of the word "Imām" has also caused difficulty. This term is sometimes used in reference to the head of the Ismāʿīlī community and sometimes to the personal name of his father, Imāmu'd-Dīn ʿAbdu'r-Raḥīm b. Ḥasan. Allegations that canto 305 of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī promises an elaboration of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's claims to the Imāmah in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel cannot be substantiated as the reference is clearly to an elaboration of the secrets of meditation. Similarly, assertions that the fifty unpublished cantos of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel contain claims to the Imāmah are baseless as intense scrutiny of the said cantos reveals nothing of the sort.

In addition to the above, ample evidence exists demonstrating the impossibility of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's having defected. The lack of polemics surrounding the alleged schism is readily apparent. While in his works Nūr Muḥammad Shāh justifies the Imāmah of Ismāʿīl over that of Mūsā Kāzim and that of Nizār over that of Mustaʿlī, he makes absolutely no attempt to justify his own position *vis-à-vis* his supposed rival in Persia. Persian sources such as Khayr Khwāh's Taṣnīfāt are equally silent on this point. In the period immediately following Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's death, there is evidence of a coordinated attempt of the daʿwah to halt the conversion of Ismāʿīlīs to Sunnism. However, none whatsoever exists indicating efforts to counter a rival claim to the Imāmah by a contemporary Indian schismatic.

There is also significant evidence that several generations of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's descendants, whose lives span over a century after his death, belonged to the mainstream

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Nizārī daʿwah and contributed to the Ginānic corpus of the mainstream movement. Likewise, the Imām Shāhī community preserves the Manhar of Sayyid Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh, a descendant of Raḥmatu'l-lāh Shāh b. Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn. This prominent member of the mainstream daʿwah, whose allegiance to the Nizārī Imām is indisputable, used to collect the religious dues for delivery to Persia and died centuries after the alleged apostasy of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh. The late origin of the Imām Shāhī sect is further attested to in the manuscripts of the present day Imām Shāhī community that contain genealogies of the Imāms up to the time of Imām Nizār (d. 1722), thus suggesting the unlikeliness of the split having occurred before that time.

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's own works contain ample testimony of his religious convictions. Descriptions in the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī and the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel of how earlier dāʿīs undertook voyages to Īrān to deliver the religious dues to the ruling Imām would hardly be found if the author wished the funds to remain in India. Similarly, he portrays his father as a humble dāʿī of the Imām in his works, and hardly as the Imām himself. The fact that he explicitly refers by name to the reigning Imām in his Gināns, states that the Imāmah can only be inherited by direct lineal descent from the previous holder of the title, makes it incumbent on his followers to visit the Imām's residence and urges his disciples to conduct themselves according to the dictates contained in the Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī completely precludes any possibility of his supposed deviation.

It therefore seems likely that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh was, in fact, commissioned by the Imām in Persia to carry on daʿwah activities among the *Mu'min Kaṇbī Jamāʿat* of Gujarāt in the absence of a living, appointed Pīr. As stated in the Pandiyāt, dāʿīs holding such a position were referred to as the *sāḥibān-iʿilm* and were to guide the followers towards the recognition of the Imām. Apparently, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh composed the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī and its Vel specifically for the guidance of this group of Ismāʿīlīs.

The main obstacle faced by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in his mission was the enmity of the Sunnī Muslim community. Therefore, in contrast to the Ginānic compositions of other authors, polemics are a notable feature of his works. By allusions to the *Ḥadīthu'l-Kisā* and the mystic belief in the need for a Spiritual Guide along the Way, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh

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attempted to prove the necessity of following the Nizārī Imām. He asserts the superiority of the *Panj Tan-i Pāk*, the holy pentad of Shīᶜism consisting of the Prophet, ᶜAlī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn over the *Traṇ Yār*, the first three *khalīfahs* of the Sunnīs including Abū Bakr, ᶜUmar and Uthmān, citing evidence of their infallibility (*ᶜiṣma*) according to the Shīᶜī understanding of Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. In common with Ismāᶜīlī authors of other times and places, he accuses the Sunnīs of simply adopting the forms of Islām while abandoning the spirit. As with Kirmānī and Sijistānī before him, he believed that the intellectual (*ᶜaqlī*) comprehension of Islām was incumbent on the believers and that the component of knowledge (*ᶜilm*) was paramount in the performance of religious rites. Without *ᶜilm*, all worship was considered futile.

The most remarkable feature of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's works is their profoundly mystical tenor. Immersed in the shared legacy of both Ṣūfism and Shīᶜī Islām, he was immensely concerned with the inner dimension of Islāmic worship and thus placed extraordinary emphasis on the *bāṭin*, the esoteric. After the fall of Alamūt, the mystical aspect of Ismāᶜīlism gained prominence in response to the change in circumstances. Thus, Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's writings mirror those of other Ismāᶜīlī authors of the period including Ḥakīm Nizārī Quhistānī, Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, Imām Qulī Khākī Khurāsānī and Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh.

The highly charged mystical atmosphere in the Subcontinent spurred on the development of Ismāᶜīlī esoteric thought in this region and many Ismāᶜīlī dāᶜīs in the area were identified by the commonality of Muslims as pious ṣūfī shaykhs and pīrs. The overlap in the mystical vocabulary, symbolism and traditions of Ismāᶜīlism and Ṣūfism occurs to such a degree that most of the verses in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Sat Veṇī Moṭī may be read by any ṣūfī without the realization that the underlying foundation of the work is Ismāᶜīlī. We thus find references to such universal Islāmic representatives of mystical love as Rābiᶜah al-ᶜAdawiyyah, Sulṭān Ibrāhīm b. Adham, Majnūn and Laylā as well as to the classical hierarchy of *sharᶜah, ṭarīqah, ḥaqīqah* and *maᶜrifah*.

In contrast to many foreign Muslims who rejected all aspects of Indian culture, the Ismāᶜīlī dāᶜīs, the vast majority of whom were of Persian origin, readily incorporated Indian

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languages, symbols and philosophy into their works. This use of the vernacular was absolutely fundamental to the success of the Ismāʿīlī movement in the region and persisted despite criticism from the *ashrāf*, the foreign born Muslim 'elite.' It must be noted that the indigenous forms were not used as poor substitutes for the ʿArabic and Persian of the literati, but as vehicles capable of expressing intense depth of emotion, mystical feelings and spiritual states.

Another salient feature of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's Ginān̄s, in the centuries-old tradition of Ismāʿīlī writings, is the attempt to draw the reader from the apparent, exoteric meaning, the *ẓāhir*, into an eternal, esoteric dimension of reality, the *bāṭin*. The method of this ascension was *ta'wīl*, a process that involved the "de-allegorization" of symbols in Ismāʿīlī sacred texts. This dimension of his compositions thus renders the task of translating extremely difficult as no translation can hope to capture the myriad shades of meaning which the Sat Pañthīs attribute to their sacred literature.

Nūr Muḥammad Shāh was the last Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī dāʿī to have bequeathed to us a substantial quantity of literature. According to the present state of our knowledge, he was thus the last of the great Ginān composers whose compositions, like the Ginān̄s of other authors, came to occupy a position of utmost veneration and unbounded respect among the Sat Pañth Ismāʿīlī community and formed a vital part of the intellectual, spiritual, devotional and mystical development of Ismāʿīlism.

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Appendix
Main Ginānic Texts and Manuscripts Used in this Study

Two main institutional collections of Khojkī manuscripts exist. The first is at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies in London and the second, a much smaller collection, is housed at Harvard University. Determining the actual number of occurrences of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's works in the collection at the Ismāʿīlī Institute is difficult as only a draft catalogue exists and the author has confused the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, and the Sat Veṇī Moṭī in her index, undoubtedly because of the similarity in titles.[1]

Sat Veṇī Moṭī - Tale of Truth (Larger)

The Sat Veṇī Moṭī is preserved in four Khojkī manuscripts at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies, numbers 32, 36, 81 and 114. Manuscript 32 is undated, manuscript 36 contains the date 1930 VS/1873 CE, manuscript 81 is dated 1951 VS/1894 CE and manuscript 114, which seems to contain only selections of the work, has no date but may be of late 19th century provenance.[2]

Harvard University has three manuscripts that preserve the Ginān. Manuscript K4 is dated 1884, manuscript K17 has the date 1868 and manuscript K23, an incomplete text, is thought to have been transcribed in the 1890s.[3]

All complete copies of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī at both the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies and at Harvard University have 222 cantos except number 32 at the Institute which has 220.

Both the Ismāʿīlīs and the Imām Shāhīs have published recensions of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī (see bibliography). A preface to the first Gujarātī edition of the Ismāʿīlī recension states that the manuscript from which the Ginān was copied was between two to two and a half centuries old. While the present author has not been able to determine exactly when the first edition was produced, there is a quotation in its preface dating to 1908 and an introduction to the

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third edition shows that the second edition was published in 1920, giving us a span of about 12 years in which the first edition must have been published. The original manuscript from which it was copied would therefore date somewhere between approximately 1658 to 1720. The Ismāʿīlī recension is thus based on a manuscript of significantly greater antiquity than any other source presently available and is therefore the primary work consulted for references to the Sat Veṇī Moṭī in this thesis. However, extensive comparison has also been made with the Imām Shāhī recension and the oldest extant manuscript of the work, both described below.

A preface to the second edition of the Imām Shāhī recension, published in 1970, states that it is based on a 150 year old manuscript, ie. one dating to approximately 1820. While it differs little from the Ismāʿīlī version in terms of content, its language is noticibly more modern and more influenced by Gujarātī, a reflection of its more recent origin. The most disturbing aspect of the Imām Shāhī version is the omission of two important cantos, one which mentions the name of Sayyid Khān, a son of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, and another which mentions the name of the Ismāʿīlī Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh. Closer examination reveals the motives for these two omissions.

Little known to non-sectarians is that the Imām Shāhī community is divided into several mutually inimical factions, each following a different set of descendants of Imām Shāh. The faction which has published the Sat Veṇī Moṭī follows the descendants of Sayyid Muṣṭafā and Sayyid Shihābu'd-Dīn, sons of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh by the daughter of Sulṭān Maḥmūd Begaḍā, and is centred in Pīrāṇā. It is bitterly hostile to the faction centred in Burhānpūr, Navsārī and Aḥmadābād which follows the descendants of Sayyid Khān, the son of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh through a different marriage. While the Sayyid Khānī branch does not appear to have undertaken the publication of any Gināns, a few extracts from the Sat Veṇī Moṭī are quoted in volume two of the Tavārīkhe-Pīr, written by the late head of the Sayyid Khānī branch. These extracts correspond exactly to those in the Ismāʿīlī recension and include the omitted canto with the name of Sayyid Khān.[4] As the Ismāʿīlīs have no concern with the conflict between the two Imām Shāhī branches, their inclusion of this disputed canto in their publication strongly suggests that it is original. The existence of the canto implies that Sayyid Khān played a role in the composition of the work, a fact confirmed in a note

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to Khojkī manuscript 32 at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies which states that of the 222 cantos of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī, 201 were composed by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, 19 by Sayyid Khān, and 2 by a certain Sayyid Fatiḥ ʿAlī.[5] In view of the sectarian rivalry between various factions of the Imām Shāhīs, the Pīrāṇā branch would certainly have wished to hide Sayyid Khān's contribution to this composition.

The omission of the canto containing the name of Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh is also easily explained. As the Imām Shāhīs believe that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh was an Imām, it would have been a contradiction to have him recognize the Imām of the Ismāʿīlīs. Such a recognition would invalidate the sectarian claims for his Imāmah.

It is thus evident why the cantos concerning Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh and Sayyid Khān were expunged from the publication of the Pīrāṇā branch of the Imām Shāhīs. In his introduction to the Sat Veṇī Moṭī, the editor of the Pīrāṇā recension unwittingly informs us in a subtle manner that he was quite aware of the cantos relating to these two personalities,[6] and it is therefore possible that he himself excluded the two from appearing in print. In any case, the fact that the two cantos are original is borne out by the fact that all manuscripts of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī which the present author has consulted, including the oldest extant manuscript which contains the work, include the cantos concerning Sayyid Khān and Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, thus agreeing with the Sayyid Khānī extracts and the Ismāʿīlī recension as opposed to the Pīrāṇā version.

The present author was fortunate to have had at his disposal the oldest known surviving manuscript which contains the Sat Veṇī Moṭī. This recension agrees in all major details with the version published by the Ismāʿīlī community. The manuscript is described below.

Siglum: M1

Location of the Manuscript: In the possession of Mr. A. Mawji of Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Folios:

Total number of folios: 318. There are 4 blank folios (which appear to be a later addition) followed by what must have originally been the right side of folio

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2. Folio 83 occurs twice. After folio 99 the scribe accidently renumbers from 90. Folios 126 and 159 are omitted. The numbering stops after folio 160. Folio 160 is followed by 7 folios of compositions, 1 blank folio, 36 folios of compositions, 9 blank folios, 4 folios of compositions, 83 blank folios, a folio containing an incomplete table of contents (*tavasiloñ*) and the scribe's charges, followed by a later addition of 4 blank folios and a folio containing greetings (*salām*) from Khojā Abadhalā Patāñṇī.

Folio size: 26 cm x 19.5 cm.

Number of lines per folio: Varies widely. The section containing the Sat Veṇī Moṭī, however, is fairly consistent and contains an average of 15 lines per folio.

Other: The paper is heavy and generally bears either the watermark "GIUSEPPE" or "POLLERI". Remnants of what was once a leather binding are visible.

Date and Origin: Several folios contain indications of date and origin. However, the year 1878 VS/1821 CE appears immediately following the heading of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī on folio 63.

Condition of the Manuscript: Good overall. On folios 71-75 the ink has transferred from one page to another making it difficult to read.

Script: Entirely Khojkī. It appears that there was more than one scribe. The Sat Veṇī Moṭī is written in a clear, simple hand.

Contents: The Sat Veṇī Moṭī is found between folios 63 and 125.

Sat Varaṇī Moṭī - Account of Truth (Larger)

No manuscripts containing the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī are extant in any of the institutional collections. A private manuscript dated 1954 VS/1897 CE in the possession of Mr. A. Mawji which was consulted by Azim Nanji could not be located by the present author. However, Nanji indicates that there were no textual differences between the printed version (which was utilized for the present study) and this manuscript.[7] The work contains 316 cantos.

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Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel - Supplement to the Account of Truth (Larger)

While it cannot be stated with absolute certainty, it appears that there are three manuscripts which contain the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies. The first is preserved in Khojkī manuscript 22 and was completed in 1954 VS/1897 CE. It consists of 200 cantos and was used by Azim Nanji in his research as the oldest extant text of this Ginān.[8] Another text of the Vel is apparently preserved in manuscript 23, but consists of 220 cantos and is dated 1945 VS/1888 CE, suggesting the possibility that this is not really a copy of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel because, as stated earlier, manuscript 22 supposedly contains the oldest version of the Ginān in an institutional collection. The last indexed copy of the Vel is found in manuscript 24, contains 220 cantos, and is undated. The compiler of the catalogue suggests that it is probably of early 10th century [sic] origin, an obvious error.[9]

A published text of the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel (under the title Sat Veṇī jī Vel) exists in Khojkī script but is incomplete, containing only 150 cantos. It was published in 1962 VS/1905 CE at Bombay by "Dhī Khojā Siñdhī Chhāpakhānuñ."

While only a quarter of the manuscript utilized by Azim Nanji in his research was available to the present author, all cantos quoted by Nanji in support of his views were made accessible and were examined thoroughly. The main manuscript utilized in this study was completed in the same year as the one used by Nanji. The two versions are virtually identical and it is clear that they ultimately derive from the same source. The manuscript used in this study is described below.

Siglum: M2

Location of the manuscript: In the possession of Mr. A. Mawji of Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

Folios:

Total number of folios in the manuscript: 470, of which 4 at the beginning and 3 at the end are blank. After folio 201, the scribe accidently starts renumbering from folio 162.

Folio size: 66cm x 20 cm.

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Number of lines per folio: Varies, average of about 40.

Other: The paper is heavy and of local Indian (*desī*) origin. It is bound in a thick leather cover with a design.

Date and origin: Dates are indicated on several folios. The date closest to the end of the manuscript is given on folio 424 according to three calendars as Wednesday, Ashād 11, 1954 VS/Jumādī I 10, 1315 AH/May 6, 1897 CE.[10] A colophon in °Arabic script rendered incomplete by a rip in the folio follows this date. It reads *kātib aṭrūf aḍa"if* [sic] *min °ibādi'l-lāh khojah [...] sākin kachh bhūj nagar*, "Written by the most feeble of the servants of God, Khojah [...], resident of the village of Bhūjh in Kachchh."

Condition of the manuscript: About half is in fair condition. In the other half, pages are stuck together, mold has set in and many pages are torn or contain holes.

Script: The entire manuscript is written by a single scribe in unelegant but clear Khojkī script.

Contents of the manuscript: The Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel [here, referred to in Sindhī as Vel Sat Varaṇī Vadījī] is found between folios 180 and 274 and consists of 200 cantos. A note follows the transcription and reads as follows:

hi:vel:satvarañṇījī:bhuzaje:pañje:bhāīeñ:je:chopaḍe:tā:utāraī:||:
pañṇ:chopaḍo:dharīā:je:pāñṇīse:bhinal:jāñkho:gañṇu:huo:||:
se agar:keñ:haraf:me:kānū:mātir:farak:bheu:[hu]et:molā:bhakisiñdho:||:
[vā]chaṇ:vāro:sudhāre:vāñche:||:
hin:kamīneme:dos:matāñ:de:||:
khānā:āvādhān:molā:binī:jāne:me:sabhanī:momane:jī:lazi:saram:rakhī:gine:||:
ākubhati:kher:ane:imāñnajī:salāmatī:[dī]nāñ:||:
tan:dhurasatī:hāñsal:thīnā:||:
hin::ākharī:vakhitajā:hol:sat:varaṇījī:vel:me:āhīn:||:
so:[mo]lā:panā:me:rakhīgine::te:hajār:sukarānā:unaje:dharame:āñhīn:||:

This Supplement to the Account of Truth was transcribed from the volume in the possession of the *Pañjebhāī* organization of Bhūjh.[11] But, having been soaked in the river water, the book had become extremely obscured. If, for this reason, many words have been incorrectly transcribed [literally, have differences in vowel markings], may the Lord forgive me. The reader should correct it as he reads. [Please] do not blame me for these shortcomings. May your household flourish; may the Lord keep the honour and dignity of the faithful in both the worlds; may he make the hereafter good and grant strength of faith; may he grant good health. This Supplement to the Account of Truth narrates the (evil) happenings of this last age. May the Lord protect us from such things. For this I offer a thousand thanks at His threshold.

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Notes

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Veṇī Moṭī, canto 4.

2. The term dāʿī (pl. duʿāt) literally means "one who summons." In Ismāʿīlism, the dāʿīs were a highly trained and organized group of individuals responsible for "summoning" the people to the recogntion of the Imām and winning over suitable converts to their cause.

3. The Persian term pīr, meaning "sage" or "elder" is sometimes used by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlīs as an equivalent of the ʿArabic term dāʿī but is more often a designation for the highest ranking officer in the Nizārī hierarchy after the Imām himself, the *pīr-i kull* or *ḥujjat-i aʿẓam*.

4. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. vii. S.H. Nasr defines *jñāna*, the Sanskṛt root from which the word Ginān is derived, as "supreme knowledge" and notes that, "The term *jñāna* implies principial knowledge which leads to deliverance and is related etymologically to gnosis, the root *gn* or *kn* meaning knowledge in various Indo-European languages including English." See his work, **Knowledge and the Sacred**, pp. 7, 50 n14.

5. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 68. The spelling *gnan* reflects the classical form of the word. See note 2 *supra*.

6. **Ibid.**

7. D. Little, "Foreword" to **A Bibliography of Ismailism**, p. 6.

8. N. Tajdin, **A Bibliography of Ismailism**, p. 11.

9. Daʿwah refers to the elaborate system of Ismāʿīlī daʿīs which sought to gain adherents to their cause. The term literally means "an invitation," "summons" or "mission."

10. For an analysis of these sources, see A. Nanji "The Spread of the Satpanth Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in India," pp. 4-6.

11. Ed. W. al-Qāḍī, (Beirut: 1970).

12. Eds. I. Shabbuḥ et al., (Tunis: Kulliyyatu'l-Ādāb wa'l-ʿUlūmi'l-Insāniyyah).

13. Ed. M. Ghālib, vols. 4-6, (Beirut: 1973-1978).

14. Ed. M.J. DeGoeje, (Leiden: 1906).

15. Ed. E. Sachau, (London: 1887). Trans. E. Sachau, (London: 1888).

16. Trans. with an extensive commentary and notes by V. Minorsky, (Oxford: 1937).

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17. Trans. H. Raverty, 2 vols., (London: 1881).

18. Trans. K.K. Basu, (Baroda: 1932).

19. Trans. J. Briggs, (London: 1829).

20. Ed. S. Nawab Ali, (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1928). Trans. M.F. Lokhandwala, (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1965).

21. Ed. S. Nawab Ali, (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1930). Trans. S. Nawab Ali and C.N. Seddon, (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1965).

22. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 10, 153 n32.

23. A.S. Asani, **The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages**, p. 6 and T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 3.

24. At the second annual Khojkī Conference held at the University of Toronto, the present author discussed his discovery of dozens of previously unknown Ismāʿīlī works in the Khojkī script.

25. A bibliography of Gināns published in Khojkī script is provided by L. Devrāj, **Tapsīl Buk**, 2nd ed., (Bombay: 1915). Virtually all subsequent publications of Gināns by the Ismāʿīlī community in Gujarātī, Urdū, English, French and Spanish transliteration are primarily based on the original publications by L. Devrāj and his associates.

26. G.A. Allana, "The Arabic Element in Sindhi," p. 39.

27. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. 9.

28. A. Asani, "The Khojkī Script," p. 443.

29. A.H.A. Nānjī, **Pīr Padhāryā Āpaṇe Dvār**, vol. 2, p. 643.

30. S.C. Misra, **Muslim Communities in Gujarat**, p. 61.

31. A. Esmail, "Poetic Experience in Ismaili Ginans," p. 46.

32. The work has been published by both the Ismāʿīlīs and the Imām Shāhīs. **Satveṇī Moṭī**, 3rd Gujarātī ed., Ed. V.N. Hudā, (Bombay: Ismailia Association, 1949). **Moṭī Satya Veṇī**, 2nd ed., Ed. Sayyad Bāvāsāheb Ahamadalī, (Aḥmadābād: Satpañthī Sāhitya Sevā Mañḍal, 2027 VS/1970 CE). The two editions are discussed in the Appendix.

33. It may also be a reference to the thirty-fourth Nizārī Imām Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 1498) who was also known as Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh. The numbering of cantos in this thesis corresponds with the Ismāʿīlī edition of the work.

34. The dates in both these works are often inaccurate. In addition, it appears as though the texts were very freely handled (or mishandled) by the scribes. The canto numbering of the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel** is that of the manuscript version described in the Appendix.

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35. For information on the **Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb**, see W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," *passim.*

36. See W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 26 for details.

37. See **ibid.**, p. 28 for details.

38. This book has become extremely rare. The only copy in Pākistān is said to be in the possession of Mr. Ataullah of Tando Muḥammad Khān in Sindh. See A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. 158 n110. I am very grateful to al-Waʿiẓ Abuali A. Aziz of Vancouver who graciously allowed me to use his photocopy of the work. Unfortunately, even this copy is incomplete, missing about one hundred pages at both the beginning and the end.

39. S. Nānjīāṇī, **Khojā Vṛttāñt**, (Aḥmadābād: 1892). This book, a polemic against the Ismāʿīlīs, has also become very rare. I was unable to obtain a copy.

40. J. Rahimtoola, **Khojā Kom no Itihās**, [English title: **The History of the Khojas**] (Bombay: Sanj Vartaman Press, 1905). Despite its title, the book contains much more about beliefs than it does about history.

41. E.D. Kābā, **Khojā Kom nī Tavārīkh**, [English title: **The History of the Khojas**], (Amrelī: The Gujarāt and Kāṭhīāwāḍ Printing Works, 1912).

42. S.H. Dargāhvālā, **Tavārīkhe Pīr**, 2 vols., (Navsāri: Muslim Gujarāt Press, 1914 and 1935). I was only able to obtain the second volume.

43. P.N.R. Konṭrākṭar, **Pīrāṇā Satpañth nī Pol**, (Aḥmadābād: 1926). This book, which has also become extremely rare, contains a vicious polemic against the Imām Shāhis by a former co-religionist.

44. A.J. Chunārā, **Nūram Mobīn**, [English title: **Noorum-Mobin or The Sacred Cord of God**], Revised by Jafferali Mohamed Sufi, 4th ed., (Bombay: Ismailia Association for India, 1961).

45. M. Nūrmuhammad, **Ismāīlī Momin Kom no Itihās**, (Bombay: 1936). I was unable to obtain a copy of this work.

46. A.H.A. Nānjī, **Pīr Padhāryā Āpaṇe Dvār**, 2 vols., (Bombay: Dārul Ilm Prakāshan, 1986). Contains a history of fifty Ismāʿīlī ḥujjahs from the time of the prophet to present times.

47. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 18.

48. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," **Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, 12 (1936), pp. 19-70.

49. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 20. Most subsequent scholars have accepted Ivanow's assertion. The present thesis, however, will dispute this conclusion.

50. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth" in **Collectanea**, Ismaili Society Series A 2, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1948), pp. 1-54).

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51. A. Nanji, "Towards a Hermeneutic of Qur'ānic and other Narratives in Ismāʿīlī Thought," pp. 164-165 and The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 181 n118.

52. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth," p. 4.

53. A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 235 n103.

54. G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," (Harvard Univesity: PhD Thesis, 1972).

55. Ibid. pp. 12-15.

56. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, (Delmar: Caravan Books, 1978) and "The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in Hind and Sind," (McGill University: PhD Thesis, 1972).

57. A. Nanji, "The Spread of the Satpanth Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in India," (McGill University: MAThesis, 1969).

58. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, pp. 84-85.

59. H. Jamani, "Brahm Prakāsh: A Translation and Analysis," (McGill University: MA Thesis, 1985).

60. A. Asani, "The Ismāʿīlī Ginān Literature: Its Structure and Love Symbolism," (Harvard University: AB Honours Thesis, 1977).

61. A. Asani, "The Būjh Nirañjan: A Critical Edition of a Mystical Poem in Medieval Hindustani with its Khojkī and Gujarati Recensions," (Harvard University: PhD Thesis, 1984). This work, in an abridged form, has been published as The Būjh Nirañjan: An Ismaili Mystical Poem, (Cambridge: Harvard Center for Middle Eastern Studies, 1991).

62. A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages: A Descriptive Catalog and Finding Aid, (Riverside: G.K. Hall & Co., 1992).

63. F. Mallison, "Les Chants Garabī de Pīr Shams," in Littératures Médiévales de l'Inde du Nord, Ed. F. Mallison, (Paris: École Française d'Extrême Orient, 1991), pp. 115-138, "Hinduism as seen by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Missionaries of Western India: The Evidence of the *Ginān*," in Hinduism Reconsidered, Eds. G.D. Sontheimer and H. Kulke, (New Delhi, Heidelberg: South Asia Institute, 1989), pp. 93-103 and "Muslim devotional literature in Gujarati: Islam and bhakti," in Devotional literature in South Asia: Current research, 1985-1988, Ed. R.S. McGregor, (Cambridge: University Press, 1992), pp. 89-100. Some more articles by Mallison are still in the press and were not available at the time of writing this thesis.

64. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance: An Anthology of Hymns by the Satpanth Ismāʿīlī Saint, Pīr Shams," (McGill University: PhD Thesis, 1992).

65. Ibid. pp. 223-224.

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66. See, for example, Shrī Nakalaṅk Shāstra, Ed. A.J. Chunārā, (Bombay: The Re-Creation Club Institute, 1923), p. 7.

67. C. Shackle and Z. Moir, Ismaili Hymns from South Asia: An Introduction to the Ginans, (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992).

68. One of the most obvious examples is the assertion on page 4 that immediately following the massacre of Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī at Karbalā, the Shīʿī Imāms moved their centre to Īrān. History, however, informs us that ʿAlī "Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn" b. Ḥusayn, Muḥammad "al-Bāqir" and Jaʿfar "aṣ-Ṣādiq" all lived in Madīnah.

69. Cf. A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages, p. 8; A. Schimmel, "Sindhi Literature," p. 3-5; A. Nanji, "*Sharīʿat* and *Haqīqat*: Continuity and Synthesis in the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Muslim Tradition," p. 64; and G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," *passim* and "The 'Das Avatara' of Pir Shams as Linguistic and Literary Evidence of the Early Development of Ismailism in Sind," pp. 143-155.

70. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 34.

71. R.M. Eaton, p. 112.

72. A. Schimmel, And Muhammad is His Messenger, pp. 20-21.

73. Cited in B. Lewis, The Origins of Ismāʿīlism, p. 94. Though the many scholars believe the Ikhwān's Rasā'il to be of Ismāʿīlī authorship (see, for example, Y. Marquet, "Ikhwān al-Ṣafā," pp. 1071-1076), others postulate a Qarmatian origin for the work (see W. Madelung, "Ḳarmaṭī," p. 663) and yet others remove it completely from Ismāʿīlism (see I.R. Netton, Muslim Neoplatonists: An Introduction to the Thought of the Brethren of Purity). In any case, the Rasā'il was certainly believed by the later Ismāʿīlīs to have been the product of their own daʿwah and became one of the most important books among the Mustaʿliyyah.

74. Taṣnīfāt-i Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, pp. 54, 60-61.

75. I am grateful to Alnoor Merchant, assistant librarian at the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies in London, for providing this information to me.

76. Sādhu Ravīdāsjī Moḍadāsjī, Ravī Prakāsh Bhajanāmṛt, (Bhāvnagar: Shrī Lakshmīnārāyaṇ Pustakālya, 1916).

77. S.F.D. Ansari, Sufi Saints and State Power, p. 17.

Chapter 2: Historical Background

1. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 303.

2. S. M. Stern, "The Early Ismāʿīlī Missionaries in North-West Persia and in Khurasan and Transoxiana," pp. 85-87. Stern, however, has expressed suspicion about this information.

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3. In this connection, see A.A. Ali, "Mansur al-Hallaj," p. 28. ʿAṭṭār records Ḥallāj as saying, "Now I am going to the lands of polytheism, to call men to God." Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā, p. 266. His itinerary in India is to be found in L. Massignon, The Passion of al-Ḥallāj, vol. 1, pp. 178-180. With regards to his suspected association with the Qarmaṭians see ibid, pp. 200-204. In a letter to "The Religious Study Group of Mombasa," Massignon writes, "That Hallaj then became a 'Salmani', of the Ismaili creed, is proved, not only by his technical terms...but also by his chronograms...." Private and Confidential Subjects discussed by The Religious Study Group of Mombasa, p. 131.

4. See Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, Bujh Nirañjan and Pīr Shams, Man Samjāṇī.

5. an-Nuʿmān, Iftitāḥu'd-Daʿwah, pp. 45 and 47, cited in F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, pp. 119-120.

6. an-Nuʿmān, Ta'wīlu'd-Daʿā'im, vol. 2, p. 74, and vol. 3, pp. 48-49, cited in F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 228. The *jazā'iru'l-arḍ* (or "islands of the earth") were twelve separate regions that were targeted for penetration by the daʿwah.

7. Ibid, p. 45.

8. an-Nuʿmān, Kitābu'l-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt, pp. 405-411, 477-481. A letter from Imām al-Muʿizz condemning the dāʿī's beliefs is found in the ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār and is translated in S. Stern, "Heterodox Ismāʿīlism at the time of al-Mu'izz," pp.11-12. D.N. MacLean gives an excellent analysis of the events in his work, Religion and Society in Arab Sind, pp. 132-134.

9. Sometimes his name is found as Ḥalam/Ḥilm or even Ḥalīm.

10. An epistle sent by the Khalīfah al-Muʿizz to the victorious dāʿī is preserved in the ʿUyūnu'l-Akhbār and is quoted by S.M. Stern, "Ismāʿīlī Propaganda and Fāṭimid Rule in Sind," pp. 181-182.

11. al-Maqdisī, [Aḥsanu't-Taqāsīm fī Maʿrifati'l-Aqālīm ?], p. 485, translated in S.M. Stern, "Ismāʿīlī Propaganda and Fāṭimid Rule in Sind," p. 183.

12. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 104.

13. A. Hamdani, "The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India," p. 7.

14. F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 194.

15. S. M. Stern, "Ismāʿīlī Propaganda and Fāṭimid Rule in Sind," p. 303.

16. F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p 210.

17. A. Hamdani, "The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India," p. 8.

18. See H. Hamdani, "The letters of al-Mustanṣir-bil'l-lāh," pp. 321, 324. An indication that al-Mustanṣir had received requests from ʿUmān and India to send deputies to fill vacancies left by the death of their dāʿīs is found in the letter dated 476 AH/1083 CE. Al-Mustanṣir's formal authorization for a certain dāʿī's appointment to a post in India is found in another letter dated 481 AH/1088 CE.

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19. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 109.

20. Ibid.

21. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 58. See also S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, p. 57.

22. J.N. Hollister, The Shīʿa of India, p. 270, citing K.B. Faridi, Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, pt. 2, p. 26 and K.M. Jhaveri, "A Legendary History of the Bohoras," p. 47. The accounts of the Sat Paṅth saint, Sat Gur Nūr, and the Mustaʿlian dāʿī, ʿAbdu'l-lāh (who is considered to be one of the earliest of the Bohorā dāʿīs to preach in the Subcontinent, see J.N. Hollister, The Shīʿa of India, pp. 267-271) are so similar that the possibility exists that they were both the same person. Part of the confusion which exists relating to the history of Sat Gur Nūr may be attributed to the fact that this is not his name, but rather a title given to more than one Ismāʿīlī dāʿī

23. Cited in S.H. Dargāhwālā, Tavārīkh-e Pīr, vol. 2, p. 28.

24. M. Jūzjānī, Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, p. 363.

25. Ibid., p. 365.

26. Ibid., p. 293.

27. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 125.

28. See A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 140, where the name of Pīr Shams appears consistently in all the major lists of Ismāʿīlī ḥujjahs.

29. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 156.

30. M. Jūzjānī, Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, pp. 484-485.

31. K.A. Nizami, Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century, p. v.

32. J.N. Hollister, The Shīʿa of India, p. 349 and F.A. Nizami, "Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent," p. 76.

33. A. Hamdani has suggested that Nūr Turk should be identified with Muḥammad Tor of the Sūmrahs. See his "The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India," p. 13.

34. M. Jūzjānī, Ṭabaqāt-i Nāṣirī, p. 646. Basing himself on the arguments of Khaliq Nizami, Nanji discounts the association of Nūr Turk with the Ismāʿīlīs. See his work The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 39. Nizami's arguments, however, are fairly weak. His primary argument is that people such as Shaykh Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā, Amīr Khurd and Shaykh ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī would not have spoken of a "Mulāḥidah scholar" with such reverence. The absurdity of this statement is clear when we note that ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq speaks in glowing terms of the Ismāʿīlī dāʿī Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn in his biography of saints. Nanji himself has noted, "If we are to judge by the account in [ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq's] *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, there seems to be no trace of bigotry

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among the mystics generally and a genuine sentiment for possibly remarkable achievements in the field of conversion." Ibid, p. 78. Nizami's arguments can be found in his two works, **Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India During the Thirteenth Century**, p. 294 and **The Life and Times of Shaikh Farid-u'd-Din Ganj-i-Shakar**, p. 71.

35. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 132.

36. **Ibid.**, pp. 171-195.

37. **Ibid.**, p. 195.

38. Kassam has translated this Ginān in **ibid**, p. 266-270. See also C. Shackle and Z. Moir, **Ismaili Hymns from South Asia**, pp. 102-103.

39. A description of this confrontation may be found in A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 53-54.

40. A. Ahmad, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India," p. 144.

41. A complete translation of his shorter Gināns is to be found in T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," pp. 233-360. A Persian *mathnawī* by Pīr Shams has been preserved and was published in Gujarātī transliteration with a translation and commentary by a certain Māhamadbhāī Rahīm Gāzīyāṇī of Kaṭhīyāvāḍ in 1923. It is not mentioned in the bibliographies of either Ivanow or Poonawala. One *Ginān* by Pīr Shams, the voluminous **Man Samjāṇī**, also contains passages in Persian. It is interesting that Maqdisī, in his travels to the Ismāʿīlī state in Multān two centuries earlier, noted that Persian was spoken. See translation of **Aḥsanu't-Taqāsīm** in A. Hamdani, "The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India," p. 5.

42. Cited in S.R. Sharda, **Sufi Thought**, p. 166.

43. T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 156.

44. K.K. Mumtaz, **Architecture in Pakistan**, pp. 42-43. A picture of the mausoleum is found on p. 43.

45. Quoted in J.H. Badakhchani, "The Paradise of Submission," p. 65.

46. Z. Nooraly, "Sources of Khoja Ismaili History," p. 22.

47. J.H. Badakhchani, "The Paradise of Submission," p. 64.

48. S.F.D. Ansari, **Sufi Saints and State Power**, p. 20.

49. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh records the date of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn's death as 1356 VS/1299 CE, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, canto 184. The **Gulzār-i Shams** gives the death of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn as 682 AH/1283 CE, p. 366, and the death of Shihābu'd-Dīn as 750 AH/1349 CE, p. 377. A. Hamdani, "The Ismāʿīlī Daʿwa in Northern India," p. 14.

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50. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, cantos 190-197. Pīr Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, Ejī huñ balahārī tame shāhā rājā, vol. 2, pp. 124-125. Imām Shāh, Jannat Purī, v. 83.

51. Hundreds of Gināns attributed to Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn are found both in published form as well as in Ismāʿīlī manuscripts. Professor Sachedina of the University of Virginia informs me that he is in possession of some works by Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn composed in Persian.

52. The Shajarah discovered by Ivanow gives his dates as 1290-1380. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 34. Both the Gulzār-i Shams and the Tawārīkh-e Pīr give the dates 650 AH/1252 CE - 770 AH/1368 CE. The date of death found in Nuram Mobīn, 1416, seems to be an inaccurate quotation from the Gulzār-i Shams and should therefore be dismissed. It is interesting that Ivanow does not mention any dates from Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb in connection with this Pīr.

53. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 72.

54. See F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 459.

55. See A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, pp. 72-73 and W. Ivanow's footnote to V.N. Hooda, "Specimens of Satpanth Literature," p. 106. The footnote is confused and should possibly be read as "...ʿAbdu's-Salām Shāh, the *son* [not father] of Shāh Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh II."

56. F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 452.

57. See A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 74.

58. A. Schimmel, Islam in the Indian Subcontinent, p. 73.

59. See A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 77. The Shajarah gives 1326-1471 and the Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb gives 1470 as the date of his death. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 34. The Ginān Gur Hasan Kabīr Dīn ne Kānīfā Jogī no Sañvād gives 1329 as his date of birth. The Pīrāṇā Sat Pañth nī Pol, quoting from Dare Khuldebarī also gives his birth date as 1330. P.N.R. Koṇṭrākṭar, Pīrāṇā Sat Pañth nī Pol, p. 134. The Akhbāru'l-Akhyār by ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, which was completed before 1588 but revised completely in 1590-91, gives 1490 as the year of his death. See p. 208.

60. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, Akhbāru'l-Akhyār, p. 207-208.

61. Ibid.

62. See J. Subhan, Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines, p. 359 where his name occurs in the traditional list of the order's saints. The Tārīkh-i Burhānpūr corroborates this testimony. Cited in W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 50.

Chapter 3:Turmoil in the Daʿwah

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1. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 41.

2. Ibid., canto 272.

3. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 79.

4. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 119, where the term used is *pātī* which means "deed" or "share" and Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā, Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb, cited in W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 40, where the Manāzil is quoted as using the term *niʿmat* which may indicate wealth or fortune.

5. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," pp. 39-40, paraphrasing the Manāzil. Imām Shāh, Jirebhāīre pīr kabīradīn jomu sīpārīu, vol. 1, p. 55 and Imām Shāh tathā Bāī Buḍhāī no Saṅvād.

6. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 119.

7. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, Akhbāru'l-Akhyār, p. 207-208.

8. A village situated about thirty-five kilometres northeast of Anjudān and northwest of Mahallāt. It seems that the reference to Kahak in the Gināns refers to the entire area surrounding the village, including Anjudān. See A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 73.

9. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 273.

10. Some of the polemics in this regard are rather vicious. See, for example, the "*prastāvanā*" (preface) written by Bāvā Sāheb Ahamadalī to the Moṭī Satya Veṇī, p. 31.

11. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 79. Even Imām Shāh himself testifies to this in his Jaṇkār.

12. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, cantos 274-275.

13. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 123. It is difficult to determine which of Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn's offspring apostatized. Imām Shāh, Raḥmatu'l-lāh Shāh and Bāī Buḍhāī all seem to have remained faithful to the Nizārī Imāms. A Ginān composed by Kathīru'd-Dīn is preserved in manuscript Ism K 22 of the Harvard collection, indicating that he too remained loyal. See A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages, p. 146. As a Ginān composed by Mīṭhā Shāh (= Muḥammad Nurbakhsh II), the son of Awliyā ʿAlī, is to be found in the corpus, it is likely that Awliyā ʿAlī also adhered to the Nizārī doctrine. Jalāl Shāh, Dulā, Mast Qalandar and Lāl Qalandar are specifically mentioned by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh as having converted to Sunnism, but as some of these appellations are titles rather than proper names, it is difficult to identify exactly which of Kabīru'd-Dīn's children these may have been.

14. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, cantos 275-276.

15. Ibid., canto 276.

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16. Shāh Ṭāhir b. Raḍīu'd-Dīn II, the most prominent Imām of the Muḥammad Shāhī line, arrived at the court of Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh (r. 1510-1534) of Bījāpūr whose father, Yūsuf, proclaimed Shīʿism as the official religion of the state, becoming the first Muslim ruler in India to do so. See. F. Daftary, **The Ismāʿīlīs**, pp. 487-491 and W. Ivanow, "A Forgotten Branch of the Ismāʿīlīs." While Ismāʿīl ʿĀdil Shāh's reception of the Muḥammad Shāhī Imām was lukewarm, we cannot overrule the possibility of his father's having had closer relations with the Imām.

17. W. Ivanow, **Ismaili Literature**, pp. 140-141 and I. Poonawala, **Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature**, p. 269.

18. A *mohor* is equivalent to sixteen *rupees*.

19. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, canto 280 and **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 121.

20. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, cantos 282-283 and **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 122.

21. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, cantos 284-285, 287.

22. Citing evidence from the **Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb**, Ivanow maintains that Imām Shāh remained loyal to the Nizārī Imāms in Persia. See his article "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 43. However, in later writings he recants his position without noting any contrary evidence supporting Imām Shāh's supposed deviation. See "Introduction" to **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī**, p. 013.

23. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 124. Imām Shāh also describes his rejection by the *jamāʿat* in Sindh. See his **Jannat Pūrī**, vv. 15-26 translated in V.N. Hooda, "Some Specimens of Satpanth Literature," pp. 122-137. See also A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 79-80.

24. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 124. The joy of Imām Shāh upon receiving this letter from the Imām is picturesquely described by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in **ibid**, as well as in one of Imām Shāh's own works, **Ejī shāhā nā khat āyā vīrā jañpudīp māñhe**,vol. 5, pp. 94-95, a Ginān which is, to this day, frequently recited by the *jamāʿats* upon the receipt of letters from the Imām.

25. F. Daftary, **The Ismāʿīlīs**, p. 471.

26. Thus, W. Ivanow's assumption that this is simply a title rather than a name seems to be incorrect. While the term Nūr Shāh has occasionally been used in the Gināns as a title, (cf. Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, **More āshājī harovar sarovar**, v. 6, vol. 4, p. 48, where the Imām is termed Nūr Shāh or "Lord of Light"), here it appears to be a specific reference to the thirty-fifth Nizārī Imām.

27. The Imām Shāhī version, entitled **Jīnnat Nāmuñ**, is to be found in N.R. Koṇṭrāctar, **Pīrāṇā Satpañth nī Pol**, pp. 464-473. The verse translated is number 30. The Ginān refers to the chamberlain simply as Mukhī Ghulām. The full name is found in the **Manāzil** as Ghulām Muḥammad. See W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 40.

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28. Imām Shāh, Jannat Pūrī, v. 45.

29. G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," p. 12.

30. Imām Shāh, Jīrebhāīre sirabañdh shāhāne kāje lāvīyā, vv. 9-10, vol. 1, p. 55.

31. Imām Shāh, Jīrebhāīre amar fal chhe gurajīne hāth, vv. 12-1, vol. 2, p. 48.

32. Imām Shāh, Ejī bharapur rahelā thān thānotar, v. 28, vol. 2, p. 55. Mustanṣir refers either to the thirty-second Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh II (d. 1480) or to Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 1498) who was also known as Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh.

33. Imām Shāh, Jīrebhāī vīrachā sheherameñ shāhā more takhat e rachāeājī, vv. 2-3, vol. 4, p. 130.

34. Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣtafā, Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb, cited in W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 43.

35. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 299 and Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 155. Imām Shāh, Jīrebhāīre hamāre bāvā amane hasine kaheā, vol. 3, pp. 23-24, especially verse four which translates as, "Having given my word I left [the *dargāh* of the Imām] and arrived in Aḥmadābād." The various sources seem to indicate that the Imām had commissioned Imām Shāh to continue the activities of the daʿwah in Gujarāt. See also A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 80.

36. ʿAbdu'l-Ḥaqq, Ṣūfiyā-yi Kirām, cited in A.Schimmel, Classical Urdu Literature from the Beginning to Iqbāl, p. 134 and Shaykh Ikrām, Āb-i Kawthar, pp. 396-397, cited in A.Z. Khan, "Ismaʿilism in Multan and Sind," p. 56.

37. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 156.

38. S.H. Dargāhvālā, Tavārīkhe-Pīr, volume II, p. 121.

39. S. Nānjīāṇī, Khojā Vṛttāñt, cited by W. Ivanow in "Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 40. The Manāzil mentions the friendly relations between Imām Shāh and this saint from Aḥmadābād. Cited in I. Dargāhvālā, Gujarāt nā Awliyā, vol. 1, p. 75.

40. Ibid.

41. See I. Dargāhvālā, Gujarāt nā Awliyā, vol. 1, p. 76.

42. Ibid., see also W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 45.

43. Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣtafā, Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb, cited in W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 45 and S.H. Dargāhvālā, Tavārīkhe-Pīr, volume 2, p. 124.

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44. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat, p. 44. The account from the Manāzil is found on p. 43. Nanji's line of argumentation follows Ivanow's. See his work, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 85. The term "Nar" is a technical Sat Paṅthī designation for the Imām and is occasionally used as a replacement for the word "Nūr" in Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's name by the Imām Shāhīs and by scholars such as Ivanow who maintain that Nūr Muḥammad Shah claimed the Imāmah for himself.

45. Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, Taṣnīfāt, p. 39.

46. See W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 43.

47. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, pp. 85-86.

48. Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī, pp. 71-72, trans. p. 45.

49. Nanji himself writes that "[t]he *Pandiyāt-i-Jawānmardī* was most probably dispatched to the scattered communities, including India, to reinforce their allegiance to the Qāsim Shāhī line." The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan, p. 65. F. Daftary is of the same opinion. See his work, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 469.

50. W. Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, pp. 140-141 and I. Poonawala, Biobibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature, p. 269.

51. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, pp. 63-64. See also W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 32 and T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," pp. 153-154.

52. Because of the importance of this canto to the arguments of previous scholars, it is transcribed below in its entirety from the manuscript utilized by Nanji. The reading of the primary manuscript used in the present study is virtually identical.

kājī:mulā:tiā:hotā:gaṇā:||:|1
gurasu:adhāvat:kareā:tat:khaṇā:|2
gurakā:masīt:me:hatā:otārā:||:3
tīāthī:gurajīku:teṇe:nakāleā:4
tab:gure:manamā:kareā:vīchār:||5
abato:kījīe:kesā:kār:||:|6
bodheā:bharāmaṇ:tiā:ekajo:eh:7
sat:path:māragamā:āveā:teh:|:8
guraku:gar:apaṇe:teṇe:rākheā:||9
khajamat:majamānī:bhotajo:kareā:10
tabh:far:kājī:or:mulā:sāre:||11
nadhā:karate:gurajikī:anat:apāre:12
kevā:lāgāte:atī:bhadh:bol:||13
khoeā:fakīreje:apaṇā:tol:||:||14
hadhu:ke:garajo:vās:bhanāveā:||:15
kāfar:sāthe:jo:teṇe:khāeā:||16

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esī:nadhā:karate:so:sār:||:||:||17
kareā:adhāvat:bhot:apār:||18
orajo:onuke:tābheme:rete:||:||19
gurake:mukh:upar:nat:nat:kete:||20
tamato:fakīre:kīu:kīn:jo:chhoṇeā:21
roje:namāj:sabhaku:par:hareā:||:||22
esā:fakīruku:khub:jo:nāhī:||23
musal:mān:hovejo:hadhu:kāhī:||24
musal:mānaku:jo:esā:chāīe:||:25
hadhuku:lekar:ne:dhīname:lāīe:26

retuhī:sāchā:sāhīā:pīu:

esī:nadhā:atī:kareā:||
te:bhuleā:lok:gemār:re:||
sat:guraku:nahī:olakheā:
ane:kare:adhāvat:apār:re:

53. ᶜAlī Muḥammad Khān, **Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī**, p. 123 where his genealogy is given. The translation mentions his descent from Jaᶜfaru'ṣ-Ṣādiq but omits the genealogy, p. 103. ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī acknowledges Ḥasan Kabīru'd-Dīn, the grandfather of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, as having been a *sayyid* (ie. a descendant of ᶜAlī and Fāṭimah) in his **Akhbāru'l-Akhyār**, p. 208.

54. Imām Shāh, **Moman Chetāmaṇī**, v. 204. Important to note is the fact that this is stated in the version published by the Imām Shāhīs themselves. It is corroborrated by the Ismāᶜīlī publication of the work and is the version accepted in all the major genealogies. See G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," pp. 9-12 where two of the oldest Khojkī lists are quoted and A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 139-141.

55. Canto 127. ᶜAlī Muḥammad Khān gives this same genealogy in his **Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī**, p. 123.

56. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, canto 301.

57. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 84-85.

58. The printed text has *jākar:narjīke:pāñe:paḍeā:* which is a better reading.

59. Nar, meaning "Lord" is a technical term in the Gināns for the Imām. See C. Shackle and Z. Moir, **Ismaili Hymns from South Asia**, p. 154.

60. The printed text translates as, "Going there, he fell at the feet of the Imām (*nar*)."

61. Literally, the bestower of boons.

62. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. 148.

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63. Here, the word *sanañdh* is taken to be from the Arabic *sanad*. The couplet implies that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh was, in fact, commissioned to write this treatise by the Imām himself.

64. *Sirā* seems to be derived from the Arabic word *sirr*, meaning secret.

65. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. 148. See also G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," p. 53 n56.

66. Examples of this are available in the translations of the Gināns of Pīr Shams found in T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," *passim* and in the compositions of Imām Shāh translated in G. Khakee, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," *passim*.

67. Chiliastic expectations were particularly pronounced in Gujarāt as can be seen by the tremendous impact and success of Sayyid Muḥammad of Jaunpur, the Gujarātī Mahdī, whose fame and influence seriously challenged the ruling orthodoxy. See A.A. Rizvi, **Muslim Revivalist Movements in Northern India**, pp. 68-134.

68. See, for example, the **Asrāru'n-Nuṭaqā** by Jaʿfar b. Manṣūru'l-Yaman and the **Zahru'l-maʿānī** by Sayyidnā Idrīs, both translated in W. Ivanow, **The Rise of the Fatimids**, pp. 18-19, 236-239, 275-304; "The Epistle of the Fatimid Caliph al-Āmir (al-Hidāya al-Āmiriyya) - its Date and its Purpose,' pp. 20-30; Naṣīru'd-Dīn Ṭūsī, **Talkhīṣu'l-Muḥaṣṣal**, p. 422 quoted in J. Badakhchani, "The Paradise of Submission," p. 23 n26; Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī**, p. 72 etc.

69. We are informed that this was the case by Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī in his **Taṣnīfāt**. p. 54. Both the **Tārīkh-i Alfī**, composed by several authors under the patronage of the emperor Akbar and the **Khulāsatu't-Tawārīkh** by Qāḍī Aḥmadu'l-Qummī mention the constant flow of funds from the Indian Nizārīs to the Ismāʿīlī headquarters in Persia at about the same period, again indicating the close contacts between the Indian dāʿīs with the daʿwah centre. See F. Daftary, **The Ismāʿīlīs**, p. 472.

70. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, cantos 45, 63.

71. See below and also Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, **Taṣnīfāt**.

72. A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 40, 88, citing information in S. Nānjīāṇī, **Khojā Vṛttānt**. See also J. Rematulā, **Khojā Komno Itihās**, pp. 221-222.

73. His works include **Ejī huñre pīāsī pīā tere darasanakī**, vol. 4, pp. 81-83, **Ejī sāchāre sāhīāñ kuñ nisadhin sirevo**, vol. 4, pp. 84-85, **Utam madham ek jo khānī**, vol 6, pp. 5-6 and **Ejī bole ravalānī sañbhaḷ abadhu** in **60 Ginān Jugesar tathā Abadhunāñ**, pp. 33-34.

74. W. Ivanow makes this September 11, 1612. "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 47. His works include **Paratham murat movanī evī bāndheāñ so pāṇī**, vol 4, p. 97 and **Ye mīṭhā mahamad nām suno bhāī munīvarā**, vol. 6, p. 9.

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75. W. Ivanow makes this March 23, 1636. "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 48. His works include Ejī ākhar mehedhī hoīne āvīā, vol. 3, pp. 174-175, Dhīrā dhīrā rakhesarā man thīr rākho, vol. 6, p. 24, Tran tran jug varateā munīvaro, vol. 6, p. 1, Dhīn kī bāt kahī na jāve, vol. 6, p. 11 and Chit ma dolo re rakhīsarā, vol. 6, p. 14, all five of which are often incorrectly ascribed to the Ismāʿīlī ḥujjah of the same name. See A.H.A. Nānjī, Pīr Padhāryā Āpaṇe Dvār, pp. 664-665.

76. W. Ivanow makes this April 21, 1657. "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 50. One of his compositions is Sāhebji tuñ more man bhāve. It seems that he is often confounded with another Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh, the son of Sayyid ʿIsā, who died in 1813. It is therefore difficult to discern which Gināns with the signature verse containing the name "Muḥammad Shāh" belong to Muḥammad Shāh 'Dulhā.' The attribution of Sāhebji tuñ more man bhāve is made on the basis of Imām Shāhī tradition preserved in S. Dargāhvālā, Tavārīkhe-Pīr, vol. 2, p. 137. The dates for the above four descendants of Nūr Muḥammad Shāh are taken from Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Muṣtafā, Manāzilu'l-Aqṭāb wa Basātīnu'l-Aḥbāb. S. Dargāhvālā, in his Tavārīkhe-Pīr, vol. 2, gives 996 AH/1588 CE for the death of Sayyid Saʿīdu'd-Dīn, p. 127; agrees with the Manāzil for the dates of Sayyid Ṣāliḥ and Sayyid Hāshim Shāh; and gives Rajab 25, 1060 AH/July 14, 1649 CE for the death of Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Dulhā,' p. 136.

77. T. Kassam also notes this tradition amongst the Ismāʿīlī Sat Pañthī community that a composer of Gināns must be authorized by the Ismāʿīlī Imām. Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance, pp. 165-166. This tradition and the status of the Ginān literature in the Ismāʿīlī community is elaborated further in His Highness the Aga Khan Shia Imami Ismailia Association for Canada (compiler), "Observations and Comments on our Modern Ginanic Literature," pp. 24-26.

78. Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh, Manhar, Ed. Bāvā Sāheb Ahamadalī, 2nd ed., (Aḥmadābād: Satpañthī Sāhitya Sevā Mañḍal, 1971). The work is also found in Ms Ism G1 of the Harvard collection which seems to originate from an Imām Shāhī milieu. See A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages, pp. 169-170. The two dates are given in A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 91.

79. A large number of Khojkī Ismāʿīlī manuscripts at Harvard University were collected from the Kerā *dargāh* of Sayyid Ghulām ʿAlī Shāh. See A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages.

80. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 91.

81. This information was received during a personal interview with Dr. Khakee. See also her thesis, "The Dasa Avatāra of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," pp. 12-13.

82. N.R. Konṭrākṭar, p. 386. Several of the names in the list are corrupted, a few have dropped out and some have been added.

83. See, for example, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, cantos 193-198.

84. Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, cantos 273-288.

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85. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, cantos 148-155. Additional evidence of this theory can be found in the fact that Imām Shāh is often referred to as Imām Shāh "Bāwā" even in the works published by the Imām Shāhīs. See, for example, S.H. Dargāhvālā, Tavārīkhe-Pīr, vol. 2, p. 103. As has been indicated by A. Nanji, this term designates an individual in charge of a local area of daʿwah. The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 89. It would thus seem that Imām Shāh was appointed to the position of "Bāwā" (which Nanji derives from the honorific Turkish word "Bābā" and compares with the epithet applied to the founder of the Ismāʿīlī fortress of Alamūt, Bābā Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ) and never claimed to be either the Imām or the *Ḥujjat-i aʿẓam* (=*Pīr-i kull*).

86. The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 170 n230. Mention of the Pandiyāt occurs several times in the manuscript version of the Ginān including cantos 63, 155 and 166.

87. The frequency of similar passages occurring in the Pandiyāt and the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī and Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel is so pronounced that a fortuitous relationship is unlikely. It seems highly probable that Nūr Muḥammad Shāh translated portions of the guidance in this Persian work into the indigenous languages of India for the benefit of the local congregations. For example, both the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel and the Pandiyāt use identical imagery when elucidating the concept of the tithe (*dasoñd/dah-yak*), claiming that nine parts of a believer's income are like wood and the tenth is like fire which will burn away the rest unless it is submitted to the Imām. Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 39 and Pandiyāt, p. 89, translation p. 55. Further examples are plentiful in both the works.

88. Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 238, Pandiyāt, pp. 35-36, translation, pp. 21-22.

89. In canto 222 and verse 9, vol. 4, pp. 91-93 respectively. This is probably a reference to Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh II (d. 1480) but may indicate Imām Gharīb Mīrzā (d. 1498) who was also known by the name Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh. Canto 222 of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī, for obvious reasons, has been eliminated from the Imām Shāhī recension of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī, but it is present in the publication of the parent body as well as in the oldest extant manuscript version of the work. See the Appendix for an explanation of problems encountered in the Imām Shāhī recension.

90. Canto 158 et al. Occasionally, the reference is to *nurshā:bhuzar:alī:* as Imām Abū Dharr ʿAlī is also known by the name Nūru'd-Dīn.

91. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 306.

92. See W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 41 and S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities of Gujarat, p. 59. More specifically, it is the site of the Imām Shāhī shrines which is known as Pīrāṇā; however the entire village is now known by this name. See also ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān, Khātimah Mirāt-i Aḥmadī, p. 124, translation, p. 104.

93. Canto 155. The community tradition is dealt with briefly in W. Ivanow, "Introduction" to Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī, pp. 010-014. An interesting note is found preceding the text of the Pandiyāt in Khojkī ms 110. The note states that after the death of Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn, some *murīds* (disciples) went to see Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh who gave them the book, telling them to consider it as their Pīr. See Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of Ismailia

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Association for Pakistan," np. Both Indian and Īrānian manuscripts give credence to this tradition as the **Pandiyāt** is mentioned immediately after Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn in lists of Ismāʿīlī ḥujjahs. See A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in Indo-Pakistan**, pp. 80, 139-141.

94. Imām Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh, **Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī**, p. 42, translation, p. 26.

95. This is narrated by Nūr Muḥammad Shāh in the **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 164. This Mukhī Ghulām appears to be the same as the one who had earlier ushered Imām Shāh into Imām Abū Dharr ʿAlī's presence cf. *supra*.

96. A description of the Matia Kaṇbīs is given in the **Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency**, vol. IX, part II, pp. 66-68. ʿAlī Muḥammad Khān describes the great insurrection of the Matias at Broach in his Persian history, **Mirāt-i Aḥmadī**, translation, pp. 286-289.

97. The above information is summarized from Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, cantos 166-167.

98. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 167.

99. A. Mawji suggests the translation, "All the original and counterfeit of the world have taken on an eminent manifestation in this [composition]."

100. See A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, pp. 10-14 and T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 2.

101. C. Shackle and Z. Moir, **Ismaili Hymns from South Asia**, p. 21.

102. Alluding to an alleged reference in Jāʿmī's **Nafahātu'l-Uns** (completed in 1476) to a meeting between Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyyā and Shams-i Tabrīz, and assuming that this reference to Shams-i Tabrīz is, in reality, a reference to Pīr Shams, T. Kassam, speculates "that either Pīr Shams himself, or the early daʿwah, confronted a serious threat in the activities of the *tarīqah* founded by Bahāu'd-Dīn in Multān." "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 155. The following description is based on Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, cantos 132-147.

103. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī**, canto 142.

104. **Ibid.**, cantos 142-144.

105. **Ibid.**, cantos 145-147.

106. A. Nanji mistakenly identifies the three friends as "Muḥammad, ʿAlī, and one of their descendants" when discussing another version of this narrative. The context, however, makes this interpretation impossible. See A. Nanji, **The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent**, p. 54. Cf the Persian phrase *chahār yār-i guzīn*, "the four chosen companions," which refers to the first four *khalīfahs*.

107. Imām ʿAlī's famous mount and sword respectively. Citing Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān's **al-Majālis wa'l-Musāyarāt**, M. Kāmil Ḥusayn ed., (Qāhirah: Dār al-Fikr al-ʿArabī, 1952), pp. 208-209, Bulbul Shah notes:

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> It must be borne in mind that the significance of the Dhū al-Fiqār as understood by the Ismāʿīlīs is metaphorical (mathal).

Imām al-Muʿizz, elaborating upon this, holds that, by bestowing the Dhū al-Fiqār upon ʿAlī, the Prophet has given an example and evidence for the Divinely granted peculiarities of ʿAlī such as his nobility (karāmah), his aptitude for argument (al-Ḥujjah), and (above all) his knowledge.
"The Imām as interpreter of the Qur'ān according to al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974)," p. 34.

108. Imām Shāh, Moman Chetāmaṇī, vv. 270-271 (Ismāʿīlī recension), vv. 269-270 (Imām Shāhī recension).

109. Qur'ān 33:33. This tradition is cited in S.H.M. Jafri, The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam, pp. 296-297 who quotes from Muḥammad b. Yaʿqūb al-Kulaynī, al-Uṣūlu'l-Kāfī, volume I, (Karachi: 1965), pp. 330 f.

110. [Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī ?], Kalām-i Pīr, p. 34, translation, p. 28. W. Ivanow has inexplicably omitted the passage in both the text and translation of his edition of the work but mentions its existence in a note. In the present author's opinion, the attribution of this text to Khayr Khwāh is still a matter for discussion.

111. fols. 25-26 of the manuscript in the possession of Moustapha Ghaleb. Cited in S.N. Makarem, The Doctrine of the Ismailis, p. 50.

112. See Z.A. Haji, "La Doctrine Ismaélienne d'Après l'Oeuvre d'Abū Isḥāq Qohestānī," p. 156.

113. p. 119. Cited in S.N. Makarem, The Doctrine of the Ismailis, p. 51. Emphasis added.

114. Abū Yaʿqūb as-Sijistānī, Kitābu'l-Yanābīʿ, p. 68. English translation in S.N. Makarem, The Doctrine of the Ismailis, pp. 24-25; French translation in H. Corbin, Trilogie Ismaélienne, p. 89. The dangers of clinging mindlessly to the external prescriptions of the law without the element of esoteric understanding is further elaborated by Sijistānī:

> ...when the revealed Laws appear in their reality, you find them tormenting to the extreme the souls that have been attached only to their literal meaning, in a way <<no eye has ever seen, and no ear has ever heard, and which has never occurred to the mind of a human being.>>

Ibid.

115. See Muḥammad Bāqir Majlisī, Biḥāru'l-Anwār, vol. 23, pp. 79-95 where this tradition is given in twenty-six forms from nine different sources. Cited in M. Momen, An Introduction to Shiʿi Islam, pp. 158, 335 n64. The tradition is also related by the prominent Ismāʿīlī jurist Qāḍī an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad, Daʿā'imu'l-Islām, vol. 1, pp. 31, 34. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, the well-known Sunnī doctor, narrates a similar *ḥadīth*, "He who dies without an Imām dies in ignorance." al-Musnad, vol. 4, p. 96.

116. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 71.

Chapter 4: Mystic Vision

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1. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Veṇī Moṭī, canto 54.

2. Ibn Khaldūn, Muqaddimah, p. 187. Ibn Khaldūn also notes:
The Sufis thus became saturated with Shiᶜah theories. (Shiᶜah) theories entered so deeply into their religious ideas that they based their own practice of using a cloak (khirqah) on the fact that ᶜAlī clothed al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī in such a cloak and caused him to agree solemnly that he would adhere to the mystic path. (The tradition thus inaugurated by ᶜAlī) was continued according to the Sufis, through al-Junayd, one of the Sufi shaykhs.
Ibid. S.H.Nasr observes that "From the Sunni point of view Sufism presents similarities to Shiᶜism and has even assimilated aspects thereof....From the Shiᶜite point of view Shiᶜism is the origin of what later came to be known as Sufism." Sufi Essays, pp. 105-106. It is also of interest that Ibn Khaldūn specifically mentions the coincidence of ideas in the respective philosophies of the Ṣūfis and the Ismāᶜīlīs. Cited in W. Ivanow, "An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Raz," p. [69] n1.

3. S.H. Nasr, Sufi Essays, p. 105. He further writes, "One can say that Islamic esotericism or gnosis crystallized into the form of Sufism in the Sunni world while it poured into the whole structure of Shiᶜism especially during its early period."

4. Cf. J.L. Michon, Le soufi marocain Aḥmed ibn Ajība et son miᶜrāj, p. 2 n1.

5. C. Adams, "The Hermeneutics of Henry Corbin," p. 136.

6. See, for example, M. Hodgson, "The Ismāᶜīlī State," p. 466.

7. An outstanding bibliography of sources dealing with Nizārī's biography is given by F. Daftary in The Ismāᶜīlīs, p. 701 n18.

8. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāᶜīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 126 and W. Ivanow, Ismaili Literature, pp. 131, 138.

9. See Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, Faṣl dar Bayān-i ShināKht-i Imām wa Ḥujjah. Also noted by W. Ivanow in his introduction to Khayr Khwāh's Taṣnīfāt, p. 013.

10. Mustanṣir bi'l-lāh II, Pandiyāt-i Jawānmardī, pp. 31, 57, 87, 90, 91, 99 and 101, translation pp. 19, 36, 54, 55, 56, 61 and 62. These terms are remarkably similar to the term Sat Pañthī, follower of the Path of Truth.

11. Ibid., pp. 11, 26, 27, 32, 39, 65, 86 and elsewhere, translation pp. 7, 17, 20, 24, 40 and 53.

12. Ibid, pp. 2-3, translation p. 2.

13. An abbreviated version of Khākī's Dīwān has been edited by W. Ivanow, see bibliography.

14. See, for example, H. Corbin, "Symboles Choisis de la Roseraie du Mystère," pp. 19-20 and W. Ivanow, "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama," pp. 13-17.

15. Sayyid Ḥaydar Amulī, translated in La Philosophie Shiᶜite, p. 223; and also quoted by Kāmilu'sh-Shaybī, al-Fikru'sh-Shīᶜī wa'n-Nazaᶜātu'ṣ-Ṣūfiyyah, p. 123.

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16. It is therefore of little wonder that Ismāʿīlīs consider Ibn ʿArabī to have been a co-religionist. Muḥammad b. Zaynu'l-ʿĀbidīn Fidāī Khurāsānī, Kitāb-i Hidāyatu'l-Mu'minīnu'ṭ-Ṭālibīn, p. 107, M. Ghālib, Aʿlāmu'l-Ismāʿīliyyah, pp. 505-507, and W. Ivanow, A Guide to Ismāʿīlī Literature, p. 118, cited in F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 454, 705 n40. H. Corbin has pointed out that despite his adhering to the Sunnī school, many of Ibn ʿArabī's writings could easily pass as having been written by a Shīʿī author. Cf. his treatment of Salmānu'l-Fārisī in commenting upon verse 33:33 of the Qur'ān in chapter 23 of his Futuḥāt. See H. Corbin, "Symboles Choisis de la 'Roseraie du Mystère,"pp. 20-21 and Creative Imagination in the Ṣūfism of Ibn ʿArabī, pp. 25-26.

17. W. Ivanow, "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama," p. 14. See also H. Corbin, "Symboles Choisis de la Roseraie du Mystère," p. 20 and F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 453.

18. This commentary has been edited by H. Corbin in his Trilogie Ismaélienne. See also W. Ivanow, "An Ismaili Interpretation of the Gulshani Raz," "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama," pp. 13-17 and Ismaili Literature, p. 130. Shāh Ṭāhir, the most famous Imām of the Muḥammad Shāhī line, also wrote a treatise entitled Sharḥ-i Gulshan-i Rāz, if this is not the same as the above mentioned fragment. Ibid.

19. F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 454.

20. Ibid.

21. See, for example, W. Ivanow, Brief Survey of the Evolution of Ismailism, p. 18, and H. Corbin, Étude préliminaire pour le 'Livre réunissant les deux sagesses' de Nasir-e Khosraw, pp. 23-24, and F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 453.

22. F. Daftary, The Ismāʿīlīs, p. 467.

23. W. Ivanow, "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama," p. 16.

24. W. Ivanow, "Introduction" to An Abbreviated Version of the Diwan of Khaki Khorasani, pp. 8-9.

25. F. Mallison, "Hinduism as seen by the Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Missionaries of Western India: The Evidence of the Ginān," p. 98.

26. See, for example, I. Dargāhvālā, Gujarātnā Avliyā, vol. 1, pp. 1-8. He also seems to have been mentioned in certain Fārsī works, including manuscripts entitled Jawāhīru'l-Awliyā written by Qāḍī Raḥmatu'l-lāh b. Ghulām Muṣṭafā (the author of the Manāzil) in 1822 and Sirāju'l-Atqiyā written by Sayyid Bhīkan Shāh Bukhārī in 1752.

27. S.R. Sharda, Sufi Thought, p. 166 and A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 157. See also W. Ivanow, "Shums Tabrez of Multan," pp. [109]-118.

28. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth," p. 12 and T. Kassam, "Songs of Wisdom and Circles of Dance," p. 145.

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29. ᶜAbdu'l-Ḥaqq Dihlawī, **Akhbāru'l-Akhyār**, pp. 207-208. See also J. Subhan, **Sufism: Its Saints and Shrines**, p. 359 where his name occurs in the traditional list of the order's saints.

30. pp. 123-124, translation pp. 103-104.

31. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth," p. 10.

32. [Mukhī Lāljībhāī Devrāj ?], in a forward to Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Veṇī Moṭī**, p. [x]. Annemarie Schimmel has also noted that "...in the *gināns* of the Ismaili community...the beloved for whom the bridal soul is waiting is the Imam." **As Through a Veil**, p. 155.

33. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, **Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel**, canto 168.

34. See Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts," and A.S. Asani, **The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages**, and "The 'Bujh Niranjan'," pp. 46-47, 56 n76.

35. **The Shia School of Islam and its Branches, especially that of the Imamee-Ismailies**, p. 85, italics added.

36. Perhaps the most notable exception to this rule is Annemarie Schimmel whose works have contributed greatly to our understanding of Ṣūfism as it developed in all corners of the Islāmic world.

37. A. Schimmel, **Islamic Literatures of India**, p. 1.

38. A.S. Asani, "Sufi Poetry in the Folk Tradition of Indo-Pakistan," p. 25.

39. A. Ahmed, **An Intellectual History of Islam in India**, p. 44.

40. W. Ivanow, "Satpanth," p. 21.

41. A. Schimmel, **As Through A Veil**, p. 138, quoting from Alessandro Bausani, **Storia delle letterature del Pakistan**, p. 322.

42. S.H. Dargāhvālā, **Tavārīkhe-Pīr**, vol. 2, p. 126.

43. A portion of an-Naysābūrī's work, the most detailed Fāṭimid treatise available on the subject of the dāᶜī, is preserved in the **Tuḥfatu'l-Qulūb wa Farjatu'l-Makrūb** of the third Yamanī dāᶜī, Sayyidnā Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 1199). The quoted passage is W. Ivanow's paraphrase in "The Organization of the Fatimid Propaganda," p. 24.

44. "The Influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim Poetry," p. 189.

45. **Muntakhabu't-Tawārīkh**, p. 333 cited in A. Schimmel, **Islam in the Indian Subcontinent**, p., 139. The development of the Lorak and Chāñdā tales is elaborated by R.S. McGregor, **Hindi Literature from its Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century**, pp. 14-15, 27-28.

46. A. Schimmel, **Islam in the Indian Subcontinent**, p. 52.

47. Hindwi (Hiñdavī) is a generic term referring to the indigenous dialects in northern India.

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48. A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 135.

49. S.A.A. Rizvi, A History of Sufism in India, vol. 1, p. 326-327, paraphrasing the Jawāmī^{c}u'l-Kilam, pp. 172-173, a manuscript in the British Museum.

50. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Veṇī Moṭī, canto 57.

51. Qadi Abdul Mannan, Literary Heritage of Bangladesh, Medieval Period, p. 3, quoted in A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 138.

52. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, canto 169.

53. A. Nanji, "Narratives of Isma^{c}ili Thought," p. 169.

54. W. Ivanow, "Sufism and Ismailism: Chiragh-Nama," p. 14. "Allegorical interpretation" may be understood to mean that the interpretation is allegorical, rather than the text which is being interpreted. This does not correctly convey the meaning of the term *ta'wīl* and thus the phrase should be avoided.

55. An informative discussion of this science is to be found in the chapter on "The Doctrine of *Bāṭin* and *Ta'wīl*" in J.H. Badakhchani, "The Paradise of Submission," pp. 68-79.

56. pp. 168-169, quoted in H. Corbin, Trilogie Ismaélienne, p. 118.

57. Haft Bāb, p. 13, translation p. 13.

58. There is a lacuna in the manuscript at this point. The line found in the printed version has been used to fill it in.

59. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel, selections from cantos 7-10.

60. A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 145.

61. See ibid, p. 146.

62. Selected verses from Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Veṇī Moṭī, cantos 41, 43-45.

63. "Ismaili Tariqah Board: Two Special Evenings," Ismaili Mirror, August 1987, p. 33, quoted in A.S. Asani, "The Ismaili *gināns* as devotional literature," p. 103.

64. Imām Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, Kalāme Imāme Mubīn, volume 1, p. 85.

65. A. Abdullah, "The Teachings of the Gināns," p. 19.

66. "The Ismaili *gināns* as devotional literature," pp. 104-105.

67. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 68.

68. Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, Ejī:Ginān:bolore:nit:nure:bhareā, v. 1, vol. 4, p. 135.

69. A.S. Asani, "On Love in Sufism," p. [10] n27.

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70. W. Ivanow, "The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat," p. 68.

71. A. Esmail, "Poetic Experience in Ismaili Ginans," p. 46.

72. S.C. Misra, Muslim Communities in Gujarat, p. 61.

73. The term *shāh* as used here is a direct reference to the Imām, cf. p. 48 *supra*. This is consistent with the recurrent use of the term *shāh* in the Gināns to designate the Imām. Gulshan Khakee notes that *shāh* is the most frequently used noun in the tenth chapter of Sayyid Imām Shāh's Das Avatār, occurring an astounding 147 times. "The Dasa Avatara, of the Satpanthi Ismailis and the Imam Shahis of Indo-Pakistan," p. 14. Similarly, the word *shāh* is one of the most common appellations for the Imām in the Dīwān of Khākī Khurāsānī (and, we may extrapolate, for Persian speaking Ismāʿīlīs in the mid-1600s). See W. Ivanow, "Introduction" to An Abbreviated Version of the Diwan of Khaki Khorasani, p. 10. The reference in this particular verse of the Sat Veṇī Moṭī seems to allude to the Shīʿī tradition concerning ʿAlī's designation as Imām by the Prophet at *Ghadīr Khumm*.

74. ie. How will you attain salvation? The world is portrayed as a mighty ocean (*bhav sāgar*, the ocean of existence), filled with dangers and difficulties as great as those of the vast sea. To cross over this ocean and reach the shore is to achieve salvation.

75. This line may also be translated as "The members of all other *daʿwahs* are lost."

76. Cf. C. Shackle and Z. Moir, Ismaili Hymns from South Asia, p. 152

77. Cf. the fifth verse of the Ginān Jīre:bhāī:dehī:gurake:vāchā:heje:thir:na:reheṇāñ by Pīr Tāju'd-Dīn, vol. 4, p. 19, "In the darkness of the night, the Guide [=*Pīr*, *Ḥujjah*] is like brilliant moonlight. He is the blazing light from the wick of a lamp."

78. Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī, Faṣl dar Bayān-i Shinākhṭ-i Imām wa Ḥujjah, pp. 28-29. See also W. Ivanow's introduction to Kalām-i Pīr, p. xlv, H. Corbin, "Symboles Choisis de la 'Roseraie du Mystère'," p. 17, and D. Steigerwald, "L'Imāmologie dans la Doctrine Ismaélienne Nizarienne," pp. 45-46.

79. Cf. C. Shackle and Z. Moir, Ismaili Hymns from South Asia, p. 69 for an example of this.

80. Cf. the eighth verse of Sayyid Imām Shāh's Ejī hetesuñ milo re munīvaro, vol. 1, p. 30, "The night is illumined by the Moon, and the day by the Sun. Thus, the heart is enlightened by Faith (*īmān*). Brother, Divine Light rains in all four directions" and Abū Isḥāq Quhistānī, "The period of manifestation (*dawr-i ẓuhūr wa kashf*) is like day, and the Revealer of Truth (*Muḥiqq*) [=Imām] is like the sun, while the period of *ṣatr*, occultation, is like the night, and the *ḥujjat* is like the moon, and *dāʿīs* like stars." Haft Bāb, p. 43, translation p. 43.

81. p. 378, translation p. 211.

82. The twelve splendours (*bār kaḷā*) refer to the sun, perhaps because it passes through twelve signs of the Zodiac during its celestial rounds. It is contrasted with the moon of sixteen splendours (*soḷ kaḷā*), which has sixteen digits and is representative of the Pīr. The term, admittedly a difficult

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and infrequently used Ginānic concept, is mistranslated by C. Shackle and Z. Moir who confuse the notion of *bār kaḷā* with that of *bār karoḍ*, the twelve crore disciples who are initiated into the mysteries of the Sat Pañth in the last age of the world. See Ismaili Hymns from South Asia, p. 89, 169. Imām Shāhī sources, for some reason, reverse the roles of the two symbols. See Ed. S.B. Ahamadalī, Satpañthī Agnāpatra, pp. 1-8.

83. Pīr Ṣadru'd-Dīn, Jugameñ:fire:shāhājī:munerī, vv. 3-4, vol. 4, p. 2.

84. The Prophet is portrayed as the *pīr-i awwal* (the first Pīr) and as the *ḥujjah* of Imām ᶜAlī in Sat Pañth literature.

85. In Ismāᶜīlism, and Shīᶜī Islām in general, the *ummah* of Muḥammad consists of his descendants, the Imāms, who are believed to be gifted with miraculous knowledge (*ᶜilm*) which is their distinctive quality. When used in this technical sense, the word *ummah* does not refer to the generality of Muslims. Cf. a tradition of Imām Jaᶜfar quoted by Qāḍī al-Nuᶜmān in the Daᶜā'imu'l-Islām:

> The questioner then said: Inform me, may God sacrifice me for thee (O Imām), about the *umma* (community) of Muḥammad. Are they the Members of His House? The Imām said: Yes!

Trans. A.A.A. Fyzee, The Book of Faith, p. 38.

86. This line contains a pun which is impossible to capture in translation. The word *dīse*, translated here as "direction," also means "to appear, to seem," while *chaudaṣ*, which can be understood to mean the four remaining directions, is also the fourteenth lunar day and thus the darkest night in the lunar month. The line therefore has a double *entendre*, and may also be translated as:

When the moonlight appears, all is pure
While the fourteenth lunar night is cast in dreadful darkness

87. Cf. the Imām and Ḥujjah of one's being.

88. "Poetic Experience in Ismaili Ginans," p. 45.

89. *Bhādarvo* is the eleventh month of the Indian calendar, roughly corresponding to August-September. It is during this month that the monsoon rains begin and thus it is extremely dark.

90. Here, there is a play on the word *baṭāu* which means both a wayfarer and one who is loose in the practice of virtue or dissolute in character.

91. The word *jār*, which may mean an entanglement, is here translated as coarse millet or *juvār*, which is sometimes abbreviated to *jār*. There is also a Gujarātī expression "*jār thaī javuñ*" which means to decrease in importance or become worthless. Gujarāt Vidhyāpīṭh, Joḍaṇīkosh, p. 347. The translation adopted would thus aptly portray the futile relationships of family and friends better than a translation of *jār* as entanglement (which technically should be *jāl* in any case).

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92. An alchemical reference to *rasāyaṇ*, the *elixir vitae* which has the capability of transforming the base human soul into the purified gold of the Universal Soul through recognition of ultimate truths.

93. *Khaḍī* literally means "upright" but it seems odd that the millet would not be able to remain standing. The word has therefore been translated as if it were *khaṇ*, an instant or moment.

94. The word *ras* is translated here as pleasure. However, the meaning of the term is much broader. It may be translated as juice, sap, the liquor of fruits or plants, water, flavour, taste, pathos, fire, sweetness, spirit, beauty, entertainment, interest, lucrativeness, profit, an affection or emotion of the mind, a passion or sentiment or a poetic sentiment. According to the rules of Indian prosody there are nine rhetorical effects known as *ras*. These are *shruñgār*, *hāsy*, *karuṇā*, *raudra*, *vīr*, *bhayānak*, *bībhatsa*, *adbhut* and *shāñtī*.

95. Cf. this canto with the prophetic tradition "This world is the sowing field for the Next World." Badī'u'z-Zamān Furūzānfar, Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī, no. 338.

96. S.A.A. Rizvi, A History of Sufism in India, vol. 1, p. 382.

97. M.A. Macauliffe, The Sikh Religion, p. 197. Contrast also the imagery used by the Ṣūfīs during the classical period, and even that found in medieval Christianity, in which the world is often equated with a woman who is "like an old hag who paints her ghastly and toothless face...[and] tries to seduce men." A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 428.

98. As Rūmī writes in his Mathnawī, "What is beheading? Slaying the carnal soul in the Holy War," vol. 1, line 1741; translated in A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 392.

99. A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 112.

100. The imagery is difficult to capture. In Indian literature, the stomach, *peṭ*, is sometimes considered to be the seat of the understanding or affections. The expression *pāpe peṭ bharvuñ*, to fill one's stomach with sins, therefore means to maintain oneself by wicked means.

101. The capital (a person's life) is to be spent in 'purchasing' good works. The pursuit of material pleasures is therefore compared to chasing after interest while the capital continues to be eroded.

102. Indian mystics often compared the world to the colour of saffron which quickly fades as opposed to the colour of true love, which is as steadfast as the *lāk* (red dye) which remains even when the cloth is worn to shreds. A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 144.

103. Cf. Qur'ān 24:24, "On the Day when their tongues, their hands and their feet will bear witness against them as to their actions."

104. A reference to Qur'ān XC:10, "And [have We not] shown him the Two Highways?" in which the steep and difficult path of virtue is compared to the facile path of wickedness and vice.

105. Pharaoh (Fir'awn) was, of course, the haughty king who refused to listen to the message of Moses and claimed godhead. He was therefore drowned in the Red Sea. Both Farīdu'd-Dīn ʿAṭṭār

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in his Muṣībat Nāmah and Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī in his Mathnawī have used him as a symbol of the unruly *nafs*, an interpretation which suits Nūr Muḥammad Shāh's general portrayal of *māyā* in this context.

106. In this canto we find a critique of official Ṣūfism and the hypocritical practices of many who profess to be Ṣūfīs. The Shīʿahs have always held in suspicion those who claim the position of authority that they believe should rightfully belong to the Imām.

107. Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 120.

108. Qur'ān 35:15.

109. Badīʿu'z-Zamān Furūzānfar, Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī, no. 54.

110. Canto 28. Cf. the dictum of Junayd recorded in the Kitābu'l-Lumaʿ fī't-Taṣawwuf of Abū Naṣru's-Sarrāj of Ṭūs (d. 988), in which he claims that *faqr* is "a sea of affliction, yet its affliction is complete glory." Translated in A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 58.

111. Badīʿu'z-Zamān Furūzānfar, Aḥādīth-i Mathnawī, no. 320.

112. Canto 28. As Shiblī states, "The *faqīr* is one whom only God can make wealthy." Cited in Farīdu'd-Dīn ʿAṭṭār, Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā, p. 33, translated in J. Nurbakhsh, Spiritual Poverty in Sūfism, p. 17. This passage seems to have been omitted from A.J. Arberry's translation.

113. Canto 33.

114. Translated in C.S. Nott, The Conference of the Birds, p. 21.

115. See A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 122.

116. This is an age-old problem which is equally present in the translations of the religious texts of many other religions. See, for example, the famous "Sermon on the Mount."

117. Cf. the dictum of Ibrāhīm Khawāṣṣ, "Poverty is a robe of honour, the cloak of apostles, and the mantle of the upright," in ʿAwārifu'l-Maʿārif, translated in J. Nurbakhsh, Spiritual Poverty in Sufism, p. 15.

118. ie. Without shattering the vessel, how can the contents be known? The body must be broken in order to release the soul. There is a convenient contrast in Hiñdavī between *deh*, the body, and *dehī*, the embodied one, ie. the soul.

119. In contrast to the literature of the central Islāmic lands, the soul in Indian mystical poetry is exemplified as a longing bride, awaiting the arrival of her beloved. As A. Schimmel has noted, in the Ismāʿīlī Gināns, the bridegroom is none other than the Imām. As Through a Veil, p. 155. Further explanation is given below.

120. Islāmic tradition credits the Prophet with the honour of being ushered into the Divine Presence during his *miʿrāj*, or heavenly ascension, in which he traversed the seven heavens on the back of a mysterious flying creature known as *Burāq*.

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121. Cf. the verse of Ḥāfiẓ, the famous poet, who wrote:

O God, grant me
the riches of poverty
for in such largesse lies
my power and glory.

Quoted in J. Nurbakhsh, Spiritual Poverty in Sufism, p. 4.

122. A reference to the Imām. Ismāʿīlī sources speak about a continuous and uninterrupted chain of Imāms since the beginning of history. Cf. the *ḥadīth* attributed to Muḥammad, "Oh ʿAlī, thou wert hidden with all the prophets, and thou hast become manifest with me." [Khayr Khwāh-i Harātī ?], Kalām-i Pīr, p. 83, translation p. 78.

123. *Hawā* and *ḥirs* are both Qur'ānic terms which mean desire and avarice respectively. In 23:71, an ontological dimension to the term *hawā* is given: "If the Truth were to follow the desires [*ahwā*, plural of *hawā*] of the unbelievers, the heavens and the earth would have been destroyed and also those who are in them."

124. It is believed that after constant weeping the eyes dry out, leaving only blood for tears.

125. Notice that Adam's tears are tears of love rather than of repentance.

126. *Gharībī* is used here in its secondary meaning of indigence, poverty, humility or mildness rather than in its more familiar meaning as foreignness or strangeness.

127. Islāmic tradition maintains that Zachariah (Zakariyyā), when fleeing from his persecutors, took shelter in a hollow tree. When his enemies discovered this, they sawed the tree with Zachariah in it. Berhard Heller notes the similarity of this tale with that of Isaiah's martyrdom and stories in the Haggada. See "Zakarīyā," p. 1202.

128. Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham was an ʿArab born in Balkh. In Ṣūfī literature he is portrayed as having renounced his kingdom to live a life of asceticism.

129. Compare this to the verse of Rūmī in which he writes, "By the spirit of all Men! Whoever is not a lover of God is a woman in meaning--behold then what sort of women are women!" Quoted in W.C. Chittick, The Sufi Path of Love, pp. 165-166. The symbol of the female lover, though rare in the central Islāmic lands, is not unprecedented. We have, of course, the Qur'ānic tale of Zulaykhā who was enraptured by the beauty of Yūsuf and who thus became a symbol of the longing soul in Ṣūfī poetry.

130. E.C. Dimock, "Muslim Vaisnava Poets of Bengal,"p. 28.

131. "The Influence of Sufism on Indo-Muslim Poetry," p. 199.

132. Another striking symbol used in numerous Gināns is that of *vishav kuñvārī*, the Maiden Universe, who has been betrothed to the Imām since time immemorial and whom he will wed at the end of time. This gnostic symbol bears distinct resemblance to the allegories in the Song of Songs and medieval Christian bridal mysticism.

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133. A. Schimmel, Mystical Dimensions of Islam, p. 434.

134. This recalls God's attribute of *as-Sattār*, the one who covers sins, a familiar allegory in Indian bridal mysticism. See A. Schimmel, As Through a Veil, p. 155.

135. Verses 7, 9, 12-13, 17, 24-25, 30, 39, vol. 1, pp. ? [book damaged]. An analysis of this Ginān can be found in A.S. Asani, "The Ismāʿīlī Ginān Literature: Its Structure and Love Symbolism." This author writes, "The wistful and plaintive rāga (tune) in which this ginān is sung, is at least as important as the imagery for enhancing the overall impact of the ginān on the singer and the listener," p. 31.

136. A *tañbol* is a type of sweet wrapped in a leaf. It gives a ruby-red appearance to the lips and is considered embellishing.

137. The word *bot* means fool, but it may also be a variation of the word *bohot*, many. In this case, the line would read, "There are many in the world who are said to be in a state of married bliss."

138. Rābiʿah al-ʿAdawiyyah was born into poverty. She lost both of her parents when a famine came to Baṣrah and was soon sold into slavery. She attained great fame amongst the mystics as one of the greatest exponents of divine love.

139. Immediately upon marriage, the bride touches the feet of the groom with her henna-decorated hands, thus indicating her perfect humility, submission and love.

140. It is impossible to express the manifold implications of *rañg*, literally colour, in English. Amongst other definitions, the dictionary gives splendour, brilliance, beauty, excellence of state, dignity, pleasure, affection, love and attachment.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

1. Nūr Muḥammad Shāh, Sat Varaṇī Moṭī, canto 316.

2. A.A.A. Fyzee, "Imām Shāh," vol. 3, p. 1163.

3. See also F.A. Nizami, "Islam in the Indian Sub-Continent," p. 76.

Appendix

1. Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of Ismailia Association for Pakistan,"n.p. Since the compilation of this catalogue, the Khojkī manuscript collection has been transferred from Pakistan to the Ismāʿīlī Institute in London. Ali Asani, in his work, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages, identifies manuscripts 32, 36 and 81 from the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies as containing the Sat Veṇī Moṭī. See pages 72, 100, 270, 298, 432 and 539 of his catalogue. However, on pages 157 and 553, manuscript 114 is included as well.

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Asani also identifies manuscripts 22, 23, 24, 36 and 114 as containing the Sat Varaṇī Moṭī nī Vel. See pages 299 and 322. As will be noted, this does not solve our problems since the works in manuscripts 36 and 114 are given dual identities. As the present author had no access to either of these two manuscripts, the identifications made in this section are only tentative, pending the completion of a proper catalogue of Khojkī manuscripts in the possession of the Institute of Ismāʿīlī Studies.

2. Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of Ismailia Association for Pakistan," n.p.

3. A. Asani, The Harvard Collection of Ismaili Literature in Indic Languages, pp. 72, 98-107, 156-163.

4. pp. 124-128.

5. Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of Ismailia Association for Pakistan," n.p.

6. B. Ahamadalī, "*Prastāvanā* [Introduction]" to Moṭī Satya Veṇī, pp. 32-33.

7. A. Nanji, The Nizārī Ismāʿīlī Tradition in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 163 n92.

8. Ibid., p. 148.

9. Z. Noorally, "Catalogue of Khojki Manuscripts in the Collection of Ismailia Association for Pakistan," np.

10. It will be noted that the three dates are inconsistent, though the years correspond.

11. The *Pañjebhāī* organization, literally "Brothers of the Handshake," is an Ismāʿīlī society reminiscent of medieval religious guilds with members participating in good works. It is mirrored by the *Pañjebheṇu* organization or "Sisters of the Handshake." The word "*panj*" has a dual significance, indicating both a handshake and the number five, a number which has particular importance in Ismāʿīlī tradition because of its association with the *Panj Tan-i Pāk,* the Holy Pentad of Shīʿism, consisting of the Prophet, ʿAlī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Fāṭimah.

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